

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

DEC 1954

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
HAVENS, G. R.—HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER	541
WOODWARD, R. H.—"Swanrad" in 'Beowulf'	544
DuBOIS, A. E.—"Gifstol"	546
SPITZER, LEO—"Stubborn"	550
BAUM, PAUL F.—'Canterbury Tales' A 24	551
ROBBINS, R. H.—An Unkind Mistress (Lambeth Ms. 432)	552
SAWIN, LEWIS—The Earliest Use of "Autumnal"	558
ALLEN, D. C.—Donne's "The Will"	559
GREENBERG, B. L.—Laurence Sterne and Chambers' 'Cyclopaedia'	560
WASSERMAN, E. R.—Shelley's 'Adonais,' 177-179	563
ROBERTSON, T. L., JR.—The Kingsley-Newman Controversy and the 'Apologia'	564
DAHL, CURTIS—A Note on Browning's "Ben Karshook's Wisdom"	569
GWYNN, F. L.—Sweeney among the Epigraphs	572
WALSER, RICHARD—The Fatal Effects of Seduction (1789)	574
ARNDT, K. J.—Plagiarism: Sealsfield or Simms?	577
YATES, NORRIS—A Traveller's Comments on Melville's 'Typee'	581
GOHDES, CLARENCE—A Comment on Section 5 of Whitman's "Song of Myself"	583
FLEISCHHAUER, WOLFGANG—MHD. 'Leit' = Beleidigung?	586
MENDELS, JUDY—Feld-Fjell	594
PFEFFER, J. A.—The Identification of Proverbs in Goethe	596
TUDISCO, ANTHONY—'Arlequin Sauvage' and 'El Salvaje Americano'	599
HALL, MARGUERITE—The Old Italian 'Ritmo Cassinese,' Stanza 2	600
FESS, G. M.—The Documentary Background of Balzac's 'Les Chouans'	601
REVIEWS:—See inside front cover.	

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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CONTENTS—Continued

REVIEWS:—

	PAGE
HERMANN M. FLAGDIECK, <i>Zinn und Zink. Studien zur abendländischen Wortgeschichte.</i> [H. B. Woolf] - - - - -	606
CLAES SCHAAER, <i>Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group.</i> [Herbert Meritt] - - -	606
EINAR ÓL. SVEINSSON, <i>The Age of the Sturlungs. Icelandic Civilization in the Thirteenth Century</i> , tr. Jóhann S. Hannesson. [Stefán Einarsson] - - - - -	609
ROSEMOND TUVE, <i>A Reading of George Herbert.</i> [Arnold Stein] - - - - -	610
HANS M. WOLFF, <i>Goethe in der Periode der Wahlverwandschaften (1802-1809).</i> [H. W. Pfund] - - - - -	612
In Honorem LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. [Ernst Feise] - - - - -	613
FR. GILLPARZER, <i>Sappho. The Jewess of Toledo. Esther</i> , tr. Arthur Burkhard. [Eloise Neuse] - - - - -	613

BRIEF MENTION: FREDERICK HIEBEL, <i>Novalis. German Poet—European Thinker—Christian Mystic</i> - - - - -	619
--	-----

CORRESPONDENCE: "AUF KEINEN GRÜNEN ZWEIG KOMMEN" - - - - -	620
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Modern Language Notes

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HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER

(1882-1954)

Henry Carrington Lancaster was born November 10, 1882, in Richmond, Virginia, and died in Baltimore on January 29, 1954, at the age of 71. He received his B. A. and M. A. degrees simultaneously from the University of Virginia in 1903, his Ph. D. in Romance Languages at the Johns Hopkins University in 1907, four years later. Those were the days when A. Marshall Elliott, the founder of modern graduate study in the field of Romance Languages in this country, still directed the fortunes and determined the wide influence of the department. Elliott was to be ably succeeded in this post at the Hopkins, first by Edward C. Armstrong, and later, in 1919, by Lancaster himself.

In addition to honorary degrees from Amherst, Tulane, and Algiers, Lancaster was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Paris Sorbonne in 1946, a well deserved recognition of the extent and high quality of his research in French literature over the years. He had married Helen Converse Clark on June 11, 1913. Of their five children—three sons and two daughters,—one son and the two daughters, with Mrs. Lancaster, survive.

We undergraduates at Amherst College used to see him, relaxed, but purposeful, striding along on his way to class at Barrett Hall from his home at Mt. Doma where he lived in those early years with other bachelors of like brilliance and independence of mind,—Walt Hall in History and Claire Andrews in English, for example. Dimly, even such ignoramuses as we were could glimpse something of the broad knowledge and calm authority with which Lancaster already taught his classes in French literature. Tall and slightly

stooped, he promptly became for us "Lanky," the inevitable and affectionate student nickname under the circumstances.

A man of his quality would naturally be recognized and promoted rapidly. Instructor at Amherst for only a single year in 1907-08 immediately after attaining his doctorate, he was an Associate Professor from 1908 to 1910, and a Professor for the nine years following until 1919. In this latter year, he was called back to the Johns Hopkins University to accept the position of Professor of French Literature. Lancaster held this important post until 1952 when he entered into what could only technically be called half-retirement as Research Professor. In fact, his work continued scarcely abated. From 1919 to 1947, he had also been Chairman of the Department of Romance Languages. At different times, he was Visiting Professor at New York University, at Tulane, at the University of Washington, and, during the Summer Quarters of 1916 and 1924, at the University of Chicago.

Associate Editor of MLN from 1919 to 1928, he then moved naturally to Editor-in-Chief and continued to perform the decisive and absorbing functions of this position until his death. Anyone who has had the honor of contributing to that periodical (the first American scholarly journal to be established in the field of modern languages) will remember the promptness with which Lancaster handled his extensive correspondence, always written quickly and concisely in his own hand without secretarial assistance. All of us recall, too, the wide knowledge and the hardheaded skepticism which guided him in his impartial search for facts and the meaning of facts.

Lancaster also edited the important "Johns Hopkins Series of Monographs in Romance Literatures and Languages." From 1921 on, he was a correspondent of the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*. During the war years of 1917-18, he had been a director, in France, of the Foyer du Soldat, which was the name given at the time to the Y. M. C. A. in its welfare service with the French army. He was Director of the American University Union in Paris and a Hyde lecturer to the French universities in 1924-25, was decorated by the French government as a Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur in 1932, was made Officer of that body in 1948, and was chosen President of the British Modern Humanities Research Association in 1947. Even at the time of his graduate-

student days in 1906, he had joined the Modern Language Association of America. By a natural progression, in view of his distinguished services, he became a member of the Executive Council in 1920-23, in 1930, and in 1934-37, Vice President in 1931 and 1938, and President of the Association in 1939. Since 1922, he had performed the exacting and important task of compiling the French section of the "American Bibliography," published annually in PMLA. Always, by his hard work, keen professional interest, and wise counsel, he had been a tower of strength to the Association.

Gustave Lanson, in the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, greeted the appearance of Lancaster's doctoral thesis on "The French Tragi-Comedy" with the laudatory, yet impressively simple words: "bon travail." Ever since this first scholarly work in 1907, these same words might have been justly applied to everything he wrote; they could well be considered the guiding motto of his life.

All who have been intimately concerned with French literature know Lancaster's important descriptive work on stage settings in the classic period, his definitive *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, and his two informative repertoires of performances at the old Comédie-Française during the *ancien régime*. The nine imposing volumes of his great *History* offer, in the first eight, a most detailed survey of French drama during the years covered. They show clearly what a foreshortened idea we form of the taste of the time if we consider today only Corneille, Racine, and Molière, the great mountain peaks of dramatic achievement, as we are so often prone to do. As a matter of fact, contemporaries reveled equally, or perhaps more, in tragi-comedy, pastorals, and even "machine" plays with their complex action and setting. They by no means limited themselves to the penetrating psychological insight of the masters. In his final ninth volume, the author gives an extraordinarily compact and at the same time authoritative summary of general characteristics and conclusions.

A delightful volume, *Adventures of a Literary Historian*, published in Lancaster's honor by subscriptions from friends and former students, revealed the humor and urbanity of the man as well as the prestige of the great scholar. It contains an excellent

Foreword by Charles I. Silin, an admirable appreciation in French by the late Louis Cons, and a bibliography of Lancaster's numerous books, articles, and reviews through 1941 at the time of going to press.

In rapid succession, during the past ten years, a series of four other important volumes followed, completing the history of French classic tragedy during the eighteenth century also. Each of the author's major works is comprehensively and accurately indexed, a great boon to the reader, yet an onerous work which he would not consent to push off on a subordinate, but always performed conscientiously himself. As a labor of love, he had compiled a supplementary *Index* to MLN, which was published in 1946 and covered the decade from 1935 to 1945.

It was a pleasure to observe the extraordinary sureness and yet rapidity of his scholarly work. Neither sickness nor grave difficulties could stop his steady industry. Lancaster was not one of those unfortunates, often men of great ability too, who could never get started or who, once started, could never bring a task to completion. He always succeeded admirably in doing both.

We shall all greatly miss the scholar. Those who had the honor of knowing him personally will also miss the firm and loyal friend. A man of integrity in his life as in his writings, he richly merited the respect and recognition which, abroad as in this country, were accorded him in such full measure. In the best and truest sense of the word, his "works do follow" him.

GEORGE R. HAVENS

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SWANRAD IN BEOWULF

In her recent discussion of the Old English *-rad* compounds,¹ Caroline Brady presents convincing evidence that the *-rad* means not "road," as it is usually translated, but rather a "riding-place" of the first element of the compound. Her treatment of the compound *swanrad* ("the riding-place of the swan") is weakened considerably, however, by her efforts to provide proper connotations

¹ "The Old English Nominal Compounds in *-rad*," *PMLA*, LXVII (1952), 538-71.

of the word for each of its four uses² in Old English poetry. In *Andreas*, she says, its reference is to the "shallows";³ in *Beowulf* and *Elene*, to "an expanse of water, a sea, but not the vastness, the limitless uncharted reaches of the ocean . . .";⁴ and in *Juliana*, to the "surface of the sea."⁵ It would seem, however, that the connotation of a word should remain unchanged, especially when the word obviously refers at all times to the sea or to some aspect of the sea. Actually, the kenning *swanrad* is a kind of "double kenning," for its explanation is dependent on a further kenning in the first element of the compound.

There is no question that the swan was known in England during Old English times;⁶ and the bird's grace and dexterity on the water appealed to poets as a source for a kenning of the familiar type in which the sea is referred to as a riding-place of some bird or animal. But the poets must have observed, too, that the swan, unlike the whale, for instance, is not a frequenter of the ocean.⁷ Its feeding habits restrict it to shallow water and generally to fresh water,⁸ though it does at times settle on sounds and bays.⁹ In this light, the kenning *swanrad* is misleading and even incorrect; it should refer to lakes or streams rather than to the sea specifically.

The *Beowulf* poet, however, offers an explanation of the kenning which makes clear both its meaning and its double application. The *swanrad* is mentioned in line 200; a few lines later the ship is likened to a bird:

Gewāt ða ofer wægholm winde gefýsed
flota fāmiheals fugle gellcost. . . .¹⁰

² *Beowulf*, 200; *Elene*, 997; *Juliana*, 675; *Andreas*, 196.

³ Brady, p. 568.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Brady, p. 569.

⁶ Johannes Hoops, "Das Meer als Schwanenstrasse," *Wörter und Sachen*, xii (1929), 251-2.

⁷ It is this problem that Miss Brady is concerned with in her various connotations of the word, and she points out that "the body of water inhabited by a whale is characteristically different from that enjoyed by the swan at play or rest" (Brady, p. 568).

⁸ Francis H. Kortright, *The Ducks, Geese and Swans of North America* (Washington, D. C., 1943), pp. 39-40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁰ Lines 217-18. The text is that of Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1941).

The *fugle* could refer only to the swan: the long arched neck of the swan suggests the curved prow of the ancient Scandinavian vessels;¹¹ and the *Beowulf* poet certainly realized the structural effectiveness of the repetition of image within a few lines. Thus *swanrad* looks two ways: *swan*, by association of physical characteristics, refers to the ship; and *swanrad* utilizes this likeness to image a "riding-place of a ship" rather than a "riding-place of a swan." There is, then, no reason for providing individual connotations for the different uses of *swanrad*. There is no necessity to restrict the meaning to calm seas or shallows. The denotative meaning in all uses is simply "the sea."

The same explanation, of course, may be made for the Old Norse kennings *svana strind* (swan's land) and *svanvangr* (swan-plain). Both are double kennings, for the ultimate explanation is dependent on the kenning *svan* itself.

ROBERT H. WOODWARD

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GIFSTOL

Gifstol is, to me, an odd word. It is usually glossed as "throne" or, more literally, as "gift-seat." With pictures of thrones in my head, *gifstol* suggests to me something lowly, like an ottoman, and I cannot help thinking of modern significances for the word "stool," significances which make *epelstol* seem a properer word if *gifstol* means "throne."

In *Beowulf* the *-stol* words are not always to be taken literally as designating stools or seats. Literally a chief-stool or a prince-seat, *bregostol* readily becomes a principality (l. 2389) and may seem to be a kenning for riches (l. 2370) or for the prince-hall (l. 2196). *Gifstol*, similarly, equates with *Beowulf*'s "own home" and "best of buildings" (ll. 2325-7) and with "stronghold of the people" and "earth-warden" (ll. 2533-4). These words, apparently, are

¹¹ See Hjalmar Falk, "Altnordischer Seewesen," *Wörter und Sachen*, IV (1912), 38. Klæber (p. 137) notes the resemblance of the prow to "the shape of a goose's neck" but makes no reference to *swanrad*; Brady (p. 567) notes the parallels between the motions on water of a swan and a ship.

involved in a symbolic representation derived from something like a synecdoche. Within the symbolism, the synecdoche may create strange apparent synonymus: hall = throne = treasure = kingdom.

No linguistic difficulties are involved in the word *gifstol*. Before affixing a figurative onto its literal meaning one may seek the connotations. The distinctive root becomes *gif*. The chief gives gifts to his retainers, of course. His seat, therefore, might be a gift-stool (cp. "The Wanderer," l. 44). But in so doing, he is probably also serving his god, so that his seat is something like an altar. He must use his "gifts," his "talents," well.

In pagan-primitive, as well as in Christian, traditions the chief is apt to be the defender of the faith, on whose spiritual potency the survival of his people may seem to depend. The chief gives gifts to his god(s) in the way of sacrifices or in the way of other propitiations such as obeying understood laws and customs for the security of his people. If he does not, fate may turn against him and them through divine anger. That the chief or king himself may be sacrificed for the good of his people or that they may suffer from his omissions or commissions is well known to readers of the *Old Testament* or *Golden Bough*. And that Christian kings, like Heremod, Hroþgar, or Beowulf, may be punished for disobeying God's orders, tainting His gifts to them—this principle must be apparent to readers of *Beowulf*. Before his death, Beowulf himself guesses that he has broken an ancient law.

It seems agreed, moreover, that *Beowulf* records a time when the triumph of Christianity over paganism was new and, perhaps, not too secure; or that, at least, the poem is based in old and pagan materials. In its vocabulary may well reside some signs of the impact of Christianity upon paganism. A pagan chief's "throne" was an altar of a sort. So might a Christian king's be. But the word for it, *gifstol*, might contain opportunities for regression, from the right to the wrong "go(o)d."

Gifstol, then, may still be glossed literally as "gift-stool," but with the connotation of "altar" quite as much as of "throne."¹ This suggestion is made in the hope that it will ease some of the difficulties of ll. 168-88.

¹ Toller glosses *gifu* as frequently meaning something like God's grace or favor or remission, a feeling for which meaning might strengthen a sense of the altar-like nature of a throne.

Klaeber summarizes the difficulties of these lines almost as follows:

1. *Gifstol* may denote either God's or Hroþgar's throne.
2. *Gretan* may mean "approach," "touch," or "attack."
3. *Myne* may mean anything from "mind" or "thought" to "love" or "gratitude."
4. If *gifstol* means either God's or Hroþgar's throne literally, then any possibility that *he* (l. 168) refers to Hroþgar becomes remote, because if Hroþgar may not approach his own or God's throne by night, he can at least do so by day. If so, *he* seems to be Grendel. But why should it be assumed that Grendel could approach or attack God's throne? or that he could not approach or attack Hroþgar's?
5. The pagan Hroþgar who seems to appear in ll. 171-88 is out of character with the Christian Hroþgar elsewhere.

The difficulties of translation center in ll. 168-9. Even the best proposed readings of these lines wrench the syntax and destroy the unity of the passage. Either Grendel was not allowed by God to appear in His presence, and God took no notice of him; or else Grendel was not allowed by the Lord to approach Hroþgar's presence (throne) because Grendel was unlike a dutiful retainer who may receive and be grateful for gifts. Either reading is somewhat far-fetched. The motivation for the prohibition to approach the throne (whichever), the connection with what precedes or follows, or the syntax of *maþþum* is not clear. Klaeber was forced to suspect a hidden meaning for *gifstol*.

If one thinks only of its position in the passage, *he* may as well refer to Hroþgar, to *wine Scyldinga* of l. 170, as to Grendel, to *feond mancynnes*, *atol angenga* of ll. 164-5.

Grendel may be devil-born, but he is as certainly God-allowed against Hroþgar. Hroþgar's throne, a synecdoche, not literally his throne, is invaded, polluted. So handicapped, until rescued Hroþgar cannot serve his people or God with gifts in the way of kings, and his people suffer. Equally, on account of the Lord, he cannot serve gods, idols, with gifts, as he is tempted to do. God Himself prevents worship of God or gods.

If in keeping with the synecdoche *þone gifstol gretan* is translated as "worship" or "serve" or "perform duties,"² the other difficulties in the passage become less troublesome.

² When *gretan* takes an inanimate object, the phrasing seems conventional, traditional, like counter-slang, so that it is not surprising that

Hroþgar could not serve his people with gifts for the Lord, or make known his inclination to. . .

or

Hroþgar could not serve gods with gifts because of God's prohibition, or know God's will. . .

or

Hroþgar could not worship God with gifts, or know his own mind. . .

Any combination of these translations makes about the same sense. The rescue by Beowulf is not foreknown to Hroþgar. Hroþgar is tempted by his counselors to turn pagan (and Grendel is pagan). The possibly regressive potentialities of *gifstol* may have enabled the transition to *hyht haepenra*. But when the moral passage is completed, transition is easy to *ne mihte snotor haeleþ wean onwendan* (l. 190). By the time one has learned from this rhetorical unit what Hroþgar cannot do (ll. 168 ff., 190 ff.) one is prepared to meet his savior, Beowulf (ll. 194 ff.).

If Hroþgar cannot use his God-given gifts (including wealth) in a God-directed manner (and for guessable reasons he is being punished until the deliverer comes), then he either uses them in behalf of evil or, like a dragon, he does not use them at all and so serves evil. One way or the other, Hroþgar must violate the *gifstol* principle, either by feeling evil or not feeling good. Allowed by God, Grendel has just enough strength so to punish Hroþgar (though one might go on to argue that Grendel, too, would not be allowed to destroy the *gifstol* principle). Hroþgar is tempted to one sin, driven to the other. And, as the case may be, the *gifstol* is God's and/or gods' altar.

Gifstol should not, of course, be translated literally as "altar." But if it can be assigned this connotation, reading ll. 168-9 seems to me eased, and Klaeber's hidden meaning is discovered.

ARTHUR E. DuBois

Kent State University

gomenwudu gretan is used twice (ll. 1065, 2108). Some blunting of the figure is almost inevitable in translating. A literal translation of ll. 168-9 is hardly necessary. The general meaning is clear. One may even say that the lines contain an essential ambiguity or double-talk of the sort that some of the "new critics" have defined and admired in compact poetry.

STUBBORN

This adjective is considered as of uncertain etymology by the NED in which an earlier explanation given by Skeats is thus refuted:

The commonly assumed derivation from STUB *sb.* presents no great difficulty with regard to the sense ('as if immovable as a stub or stock'), but it is not easy to justify morphologically. It has been suggested that the word represents an OE. *stybbor* f. *stubb* STUB *sb.*, the final -*n* being supposed to be due to a false analysis of *stybournesse*, *stobournesse*, etc. (see *Stubornness*). But -*or* was not a living suffix in OE.; the words containing it are inherited from O Teut., and are not formed on noun-stems but on verbal roots. The early spelling of *stubbornness* with only one *n* is of no significance; more noteworthy, however, is the spelling *stoberlie* in our first example of the adv. [c. 1430]. The fluctuation in the vowel (see the Forms above [*stibourn(e)*, *sto(u)burne*, *stubberne*, *stubborne*]) might be supposed to be argument in favor of derivation from STUB *sb.* (OE *stybb*, *stub*,* *stobb*); but it should be noted that a similar fluctuation appears in the forms of STUBBLE *sb.* [*stibble*, *stubble*, *stobble* < OF *estouble* *esteule*] which is of Romanic origin.

We may then be allowed to look for a Romance, i. e. O. F. etymon:

Although the E. term is attested earlier with reference to persons and animals (1386 Chaucer: 'And I was yong and ful of ragerye, *Stibourne* and strong and ioly as a pye,' 'Stibourne I was as is a Leonesse') than with reference to things (1514 Barclay: 'Lyke as the ground, is dull stony and toughe, *Stubberne* and hevvy, rebellynge to the ploughe') we may assume the latter reference to be the original one—in view of the French dialectal word family *estibourner* 'palissader,' that is 'to fortify the ground by stakes or palisades' (attested by Godefroy several times, since 1421, in the area of Amiens), *estambourne*, diminutive *estambournel* 'palisade' (*ibid.*), whose etymological explanation Gamillscheg has attempted several times: ZRPh 41, 429; EWFS, s. v. *étibois*; and *Homenaje a Fritz Krüger* 1 (Mendoza, Argentina 1952), p. 34. His last explanation seems to me the best: O. Danish *stibord* (*styffbord*), altered to *stigbord* in Norwegian, which must originally have meant 'a board that stifles, stems, stays (transitive),' Norwegian *stigbord* 'sluice,' v. Falk-Torp. This O. Norse compound must have found its way into Normandy in the 9th Century and

from there in the 11th into Anglo-Norman. On French soil the Germanic *stibord* was, according to Gamillscheg, contaminated by the stem of Fr. *borner* 'to set a limit,' hence *estibourne(r)* '(to) palisade,' or by the stem of *bois* 'wood,' hence Normandian *étibois* 'splinter of wood.' The E. word *stubborn*, whose use by Barclay still reflects the original semantic area of the French word, represents probably a postverbal adjective *estibourne* (cf. OF *ferme* from *fermer*) in the meaning 'strong, resistant as a palisade.' The time lag of 35 years (1386-1421) between the attestations in English and French is irrelevant with a term that originally belongs to a specialized technical terminology and therefore is less likely to appear in literature. In any case the semantic expansion of the term seems, as far as we are able to judge from the O. French material available to us, to be entirely to the credit of English.

LEO SPITZER

CANTERBURY TALES A 24

The "wel nyne and twenty" has caused discussion enough, though, as Robinson says (apropos of l. 164), any little numerical inaccuracy need trouble no one in view of the many inconsistencies of the unfinished *Tales*. Yet "wel nyne and twenty" has an air of preciseness—it cannot of course mean *about* twenty-nine—and there may still be a natural solution. Robinson's total of thirty-one cannot be right, because Chaucer lists actually twenty-seven and the "preestes three." At l. 24 neither Chaucer nor the Host belonged to the twenty-nine who arrived at the Tabard on that April evening. One easy solution is to assume, as is commonly done because of the pronoun in l. 101 (the Yeoman being the Knight's servant, not the Squire's) that the description of the Squire and therefore the Squire himself were an insertion; and without the Squire there *are* twenty-nine, including the three Priests.¹ Another solution, more complicated but quite plausible, is that Chaucer first wrote "wel five (*or* four) and twenty" before he had added the last five pilgrims to the list: the Reeve, Miller,

¹ This point, I find, was made twenty years ago by Carleton Brown, *MLN* XLIX (1934), 216-22. So perishable are the fruits of scholarship.

Summoner, Pardoner, and Manciple. That these last were an addition or after-thought was suggested long ago by Miss Hammond (*Manual*, p. 254). Besides her reasons it may be noted that "myself" is now included naturally because the point of view is different: it is not now the gathering of the fortuitously grouped company before the Tabard's door, but a pilgrimage already under way. The earlier portraits were set down, according to the fiction, while the Narrator had time and space that first evening. But the Miller we now learn "broghte us out of towne" (l. 566) and the Reeve "rood the hyndreste of oure route" (l. 622) and with the Summoner "rood a gentil Pardoner" (l. 668). Finally, at ll. 715 ff., "Now have I toold you . . .," Chaucer resumes the former fiction that they were still at the Inn and we can see the Host standing by "this post" (l. 800). After finishing the Prologue Chaucer, knowing that he had added five new Pilgrims, would have to go back and correct the figure given at l. 24, and if the Squire had already been included he would change twenty-five to twenty-nine mistakenly; but it is simpler to assume that the Squire had still not been included and he would change twenty-four to twenty-nine correctly.—By an odd coincidence the same numbers in BD l. 455 have caused a different kind of difficulty. The reappearance of a precise "nyne and twenty" in the Parson's Prologue, l. 4, may be another coincidence or a pointed (and witty) reference back to l. 24 of the Prologue.

PAULL F. BAUM

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AN UNKIND MISTRESS (LAMBETH MS. 432)

On the end flyleaf (f. 94^v) of Lambeth MS. 432, a collection of English devotional prose, in a very faded late fifteenth-century hand, are lines casually noted by James and Jenkins¹ and described

¹ Montague Rhodes James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1930-1932), pp. 599-601, list the contents—a Life of St. Jerome and the "Abbay of the Holy Goest" occupy two thirds of the MS., completed by half a dozen short devotional tracts in English prose. They note "On 94b Some lines of English ending þis I wyll þat ye wyt wher som euer ye be / I luffe yow meche bettyr þan ye do me." James in "The Manuscripts in the

(erroneously) in *The Index of Middle English Verse* as "Moral Admonitions—in rime royal stanzas."² Actually, the poem, a single stanza rhyme royal, consists of a complaint on the unkindness of the poet's mistress, a not uncommon theme in Middle English secular verse.³ The poem, printed herewith for the first time, though without marked artistic qualities, has some interest: it shows a typical routine performance of some amateur author⁴ putting together the clichéd poetic formulas of his age, and it demonstrates the interplay of sensuous phraseology in secular and religious lyrics which in quite a few examples makes identification dubious.

The following text represents the best reading obtainable without the use of reagents. Punctuation is editorial.

O ye prynces, þat prechyd hase my hert
 with yowr wofull wordys and yowr wamyntacion,
 yowe with onkynnes causys my wondys to smarte;
 but ye be sure y-set to be my sauacion, 4
 ellys lowte I full lowe with gret lamyntacion;
 þis I wyll þat ye wyt, wher-someuer ye bee,
 I luffe yow meche bettyr þan ye do mee.

1 prynces ? MS. last four letters illegible. After this word is written in my presens which seems a false start. prechyd NED records only perch.

2 MS. with i MS wamyntacion

3 onkynnes NED does not record this form. MS. casys MS. smate

5 lowte I full lowe NED lout v¹, I, quotes Spenser, louting low. MS. lamyntacion

I have suggested elsewhere⁵ the existence of a considerable body of stock phrases which keep recurring in late Middle English love

Library at Lambeth Palace," *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications, Octavo Series xxxiii* (Cambridge, 1900), merely lists "No. 432. Paper xv."

² Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), No. 2599.

³ For example, *Index*, Nos. 564, 657, 746, 2161, 2188, 2311, 2318, 2491, 2518, 3179, 3414, 3418; and Complaints by the Duke of Suffolk.

⁴ On this flyleaf are scribbled the names of Thomas Parsons, Hugh Wynstanley, and Iohanne Bowld. While these names may have no connection with the writer of the stanza, nevertheless the juxtaposition of text and names is significant.

⁵ "The Poems of Humfrey Newton, Esquire, 1466-1536," *PMLA*, **LXV** (1950), 280-281; "A Late Fifteenth-Century Love Lyric," *MLN*, **LXIV** (1954), XXX-X; and *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Oxford, 1952), p. 269 (notes to No. 130).

poetry. To the examples previously given, this present poem draws attention to three further sets of clichés:

(a) The unkindness of his mistress (yowe with onkynnes . . . lowte I . . . with gret lamyntacion):

yet, though vnkyndnesse do me wo, Hure will y loue and drede.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 3179) ^a
Me-thynk thou art vnkynd, as in this case, To suffre me so long a while endure So gret a payn wyth-out mersy or grase.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 2567)
for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me And putt me to thys payne.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 1018)
My fayre swete-hert ye cause me to compleyn, ffor lacke of yow y stande full pytously.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 1331)

(b) Love's piercing the heart and the smart of the wound (þat prechyd hase my hert . . . causys my wondys to smarte):

youre goodlyhed hathe peryschid myn hert soo.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 380)
a-lace ffortwne, þou art on-kynd!	
why ssuffrys þou my hart to brek yn two?	(<i>Index</i> , No. 2245)
in twenty pecis myn hert wold breke.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 3785)
Alas, howe schale my hert be lyght, Wyth dart of loue when hyt ys slayn.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 152)
Go hert, hurt with aduersite, And let my lady þi wondis see.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 925)
The more I love, the more she dothe me smerte.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 3414)
alas, my harte dothe blede with peyne.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 366)
And yett of all my Smart, Ytt grevith moste my harte.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 1018)

(c) The poet's complete and undemanding devotion (I luffe yow meche bettyr þan ye do mee):

The more that I love yow, goodly, free, The lasse fynde I that ye loven me.	(<i>Index</i> , No. 3414)
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What makes these passages unusual is the employment of very similar words and phrases in the Appeal of Christ to Man to have mind on the Passion, poems most numerous in the middle years of the fourteenth century (over three dozen), but existing vigorously as a literary and devotional form into the sixteenth. Thus, many parallels to this Lambeth stanza may be found in the religious lyrics:

^a To reduce footnotes, references are given to the *Index*, q. v.

(a) The unkindness of man:

- Vnkynde man, gif kepe til me
and loke what payne I suffer for þe. (Index, No. 3826)
- Of al þe payne þat I suffer sare,
with-in my hert it greues me mare
þe vnkyndenes þat I fynde in þe. (Index, No. 3826)
- Of al my payne haue I no doute
But if vnkende I fynde þe. (Index, No. 495)
- O vnkinde! for þou haste slayn þi lord,
And everyday þou woundist me newe. (Index, No. 3612)
- To mane he cried and sayde 'alas!
Why art þu, mane, vnkynde to me?' (Index, No. 1841)
- At alpermost hyt greueþe me þat ic vnkende schal fynde þe.
(Index, No. 2502)
- qwy art þu, man, to me vnkynde? (Index, No. 3071)
- Ouer all theeis paines þat I suffer so sore,
With myne herte hit greuith me more,
þat I vnkindnes finde in the. (Index, No. 3827)

(b) Love's piercing the heart and the smart of the wound:

- Perce myn herte with þi louengge. (Index, No. 3825)
- lat now loue his bow bende
& loue arowes to my hert send,
þat hit mow percen to þe roote,
For suche woundes shold be my bote. (Index, No. 1761)
- And perche my hert for pore pete. (Index, No. 1781)
- O Man vnkynde / hafe in mynde
My paynes smert!
Behold & see / þat is for þe
Percyd, my hert. (Index, No. 2504)
- And wounde my herte in þi luf fre. (Index, No. 1735)

It might be noted that the metaphor of pain piercing the heart appears frequently in the laments of the *Stabat Mater* tradition, as for example:

- þe sarp swerde of simeon
Perse sal þin hert,
For my care of michil won
Sore þe sal smerte. (Index, No. 352)
- Thy peynes to me they be so smert,
My sorow so sore hit will nat slake,
That as a swerde they perse my hert. (Index, No. 3543)

(c) Christ's complete and undemanding devotion:

O Man, y loue þee, whom louest þou?	(Index, No. 3612)
I loue þee man, but whom louest þowe?	(Index, No. 3611)
I muste love þe, I maye none oþer,	
Therfor love me a-gayne.	(Index, No. 1841)
Yf kyndness þanne in þe þou hadde,	
Thow shuldest love me with good intent.	(Index, No. 1841)
Man, I luf þe ouer all thing.	(Index, No. 2080)
Lufe þou me als þe wele aw.	(Index, No. 3826)

The peak of this dual purpose vocabulary is reached in two lyrics of the fifteenth century, which, for eight lines, are identical. One is definitely secular:

HAve all my hert & be in peys,
 And þink I lowfe yow ferwently;
 ffor in good fayth, hit ys no lese,
 I wold 3e wyst as well as I.
 ffor now I see, bothe nyzt and day,
 That my lovfe wyll not sese;
 Hawe mercy on me as 3e best may—
 Hawe all my hert and be in peyse.⁷

The other poem is just as definitely religious (it is headed, "*Querimonia Xi languentis pro amore*"):

Therfor, haue alle myne herte & beon yn pees,
 & þynke I love you soueranly—
 ffor þat I say hit is no lese—
 Wolde god ye wyste as wele as I.
 ffor wele I se, bothe day & nygth
 That trew loue wyle me neuer cese.
 Haue mercy on me, worthly wiygth,
 Haue all my herte & be yn pese.⁸

This is not the place to enter into the ramifications of the transfer and retransfer of a sensuous vocabulary. It might be observed, however, that this particular series of parallels to the Lambeth text appears to have originated in the fourteenth century under the influence of the English mystical treatises and poems of the "*Amore langueo*" genre written by spiritual advisers to devout

⁷ Index, No. 1120. Printed Robbins, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁸ Index, No. 3805. Printed Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* (Oxford, 1939), p. 176.

women, religious and lay, to cultivate their devotion to Christ, the heavenly lover.⁹ By the fifteenth century, this diction had passed to the use by men to describe their affection toward women. Such a transfer seems to repeat an earlier pattern: the adoption of the traditional religious imagery of the Song of Songs in the Early English homilies and West Midland lyrics to a secular use, describing a mistress, in the late thirteenth century in the Harley and related lyrics.

In the study of the Middle English lyric which eventually must be written, attention will have to be given to those poems which lack sufficient direct evidence to classify them as religious or secular. There are often valid grounds for confusion: a poem in Douce MS. 326 was printed by Carleton Brown in his collection of fifteenth century religious lyrics,¹⁰ but the Bodleian catalogue had described it as "from a poet to his mistress." Two poems listed in Brown's original *Register* as religious or didactic are actually secular poems.¹¹ At least two further poems are even more baffling: an acrostic to "Katyryn" is added to the end of a prayer to St. Katherine and is therefore presumably a religious exercise.¹² Yet there is nothing in the language or imagery to preclude its being an amatory exercise to the lady of the scribe:

In way of servyse as lovele as y cane,
neuer to change, bot take me for your man.

Nor is the placing of Bowesper's eight lines to the "Ryght godely, fressh flour of womanhode" in a religious anthology¹³ the final

⁹ Hope Emily Allen, *English Writings of Rolle* (Oxford, 1931), p. lxiii, notes that "Rolle tells us that 'the lyre of delight' did not please him which he heard at the feasts of the great, and when songs were sung of the love of women he tried not to listen, and 'converted what they said to Christ.'"

¹⁰ *Index*, No. 927. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.

¹¹ *Index*, Nos. 479, 1838. No. 2412, an apostrophe to death, is likewise secular, because the poet despairs of his lady's favors!

¹² *Index*, No. 588. Robbins, *op. cit.*, p. 273. *Index*, No. 2687 (xiii century) and No. 3228 (Huchen's prayer to the B. V.) both use knightly terminology: *thin knight; Seruite and serwise we owe, parde / To thi highnesse.*

¹³ *Index*, No. 2824. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Other poems to the Virgin which show considerable secular imagery include *Index*, Nos. 456, 742, 1310, 2618, 3498, 3835, 3836. A parallel group, addressed to Christ, includes Nos. 831, 1311, 1328, 1700, 1715, 3238, 3704, 3760, 3845, and 4056.

disposition; the tone (perhaps of an epistle) and phraseology can be paralleled in several secular lyrics.¹⁴

"An Unkind Mistress" thus extends its feeble lines to a literary tradition which, because a poem could be so composed from a corpus of kennings, must have been of considerable distribution and some establishment. This was the stock out of which was to grow the Elizabethan achievement.

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THE EARLIEST USE OF "AUTUMNAL"

The word *autumnal* is given in the *NED* in three senses. For sense three, "fig. Past the prime (of life)," the earliest recorded example is "1656 *Artif. Beauty*¹ 59 When her own [haire], now more withered and autumnall, seemed less becoming her." In fact the word in this sense was used at an earlier date at least twice, each instance occurring in a well-known work by a famous author.

The first appears in the title and second line of Donne's Ninth Elegie, "The Autumnall":

No *Spring*, nor *Summer* Beauty hath such grace,
As I have seen in one *Autumnall* face.

The composition date of Elegie IX has not certainly been ascertained, but it must have been written before Donne's death in 1631, making this instance antedate the *NED* entry by more than twenty-five years. Edmund Gosse has conjectured that the poem was com-

¹⁴ Such as *Index*, Nos. 751, 752, 767; printed Robbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 209, 208.

¹ "A Discourse of auxiliary Beauty, or artificiall Handsomenesse, in Point of Conscience between two Ladies. Lond. 1656. 8 vo. 5s. 'This work is ascribed to Dr. Gauden by Ant. & Wood, but it seems rather to have been the work of Obadiah Walker. It had a second edition in 1662, under the title of 'A Discourse of Artificial Beauty, with some satyricall Censures on the vulgar Errors of these Times.' Wood, in his first edition, ascribes the work to Bishop Taylor, but this mistake was corrected in the second.' Dr. Bliss." William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (new ed. by Henry C. Bohn), 1885. 6 vols. i, 140.

posed "in the autumn of 1625."² Sir Herbert Grierson, however, believed the poem is a product of the years 1607-1609,³ and based his argument in part on another example (probably the earliest) of the use of *autumnal*, which occurs in Ben Jonson's *Epicæne*:

Cle. Who is the President [of the ladies collegiate]?

Trv. The graue, and youthfull matron, the lady
Havghty.

Cle. A poxe of her autumnall face, her peece'd
beautie. . . .⁴

Evidence exists that *Epicæne* was first performed no later than 1610,⁵ which gives us definite proof of one use of *autumnal* forty-six years earlier than the *NED* entry, which should be corrected accordingly.

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DONNE'S "THE WILL"

Readers of Donne's "The Will" naturally see a relation between it and the "Grand Testament" of Villon, though, as far as I know, there is no reason to believe that Donne ever read the poetry of the adventurous Frenchman. There is, however, a distinguished difference between the two testaments, for though they both have mockery in them, Villon's legacies are generally material, whereas Donne's are mainly physical and qualitative. The notion governing "The Will" is not so unique that the witty Donne could not have found it for himself, but there is a possible analogue that may account for the direction in which Donne's mind turned.

In 1505 Soncinus printed a small book, *Grunnii Corococtae porcelli testamentum*. The book was reprinted, apparently, at Venice in 1520 and at Strassburg in 1522. Alexander Brassicanus inserted it in his *Proverbiorum symmicta* in 1529 and after this

² Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*. London, 1899. 2 vols. ii, 228.

³ Herbert J. C. Grierson, ed. *The Poems of John Donne*. Oxford, 1912. 2 vols. ii, 62-63.

⁴ C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, edd. *Ben Jonson*. Oxford, 1925-1952. 11 vols. vol. 5. *Epicæne* I, i, 83-85.

⁵ Herford and Simpson, ix, 208.

date, it was frequently reissued. The book had a definite Christian vogue because it had been mentioned by Jerome in his commentary on Isaiah as a work too popular with schoolboys. The pertinent part of the legacy reads:

qui ait "patri meo Verrino Lardino do lego dari glandis modios XXX, et matri meae Veturinae scrofae do lego dari Laconicae siliginis modios XL, et sorori meae Quirinae, in cuius votum interesse non potui, do lego dari hordei modios XXX. et de meis visceribus dabo donabo sutoribus setas, rixatoribus capitinas, surdis auriculas, caudicis et verbosis linguam, botulariis intestina, esiciariis femora, mulieribus lumbulos, pueris vesicam, puellis caudam, cinaedis musculos, cursoribus et venatoribus talos, latronibus ungulas, et nec nominando coco legato dimitto popiam et pistillum, quae mecum attuleram de Tebeste usque ad Tergeste: liget sibi collo de reste."¹

D. C. ALLEN

LAURENCE STERNE AND CHAMBERS' *CYCLOPAEDIA*

Students of Laurence Sterne have long suspected that much of his erudition displayed in *Tristram Shandy* was obtained in predigested form. His indebtedness to Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* was suggested in 1928 by Edward Bensley,¹ who presented evidence that more than a little of the information on fortification and gunnery in *Tristram Shandy* was drawn, not directly from technical treatises, but from articles on these subjects in Chambers, a set of which Sterne appears to have owned.² A further investigation of Chambers discloses that Sterne also drew upon the *Cyclopaedia* for information in other branches of learning.

Sterne's indebtedness to Chambers is particularly heavy in Volumes II and III of *Tristram Shandy*. His references therein to noses often bear resemblance to sections of Chambers' compendious article on "Nose." Both writers define a nose in almost identical terms, and one may compare Sterne's observation that in Crim

¹ M. Haupt, *Opuscula* (Leipzig, 1876), II, 175-83. The full text and bibliographical data is given here.

² Edward Bensley, "A Debt of Sterne's," London *TLS*, November 1, 1928, 806.

³ *A Facsimile Reproduction of a Unique Catalogue of Laurence Sterne's Library*, London, 1930. This lists the 1738 edition of Chambers; I have used the 1741 edition.

Tartary noses "are all crush'd down by the thumb, so that no judgment can be formed upon them"³ with Chambers' comment that the Crim Tartars "break the noses of their children while young, as thinking it a great piece of folly to have their noses stand before their eyes." In this article in Chambers also appears the discussion of Paraeus and the nose operation of Taliacotius, which Sterne elaborated upon; and here too is suggested Walter Shandy's theory that great noses are important in determining a man's future.

In Chapter 19 of Volume II of *Tristram Shandy* Walter Shandy speculates on the possible dwelling place of the human soul. Sterne's discussion of this subject, including his description of the pineal gland, shows marked similarity to passages in Chambers' article on "Soul," and Walter Shandy's musing that people "can walk about and do their business without brains"⁴ recalls Chambers' article on "Brain," wherein are cited several cases of the survival of men and animals despite the absence of a brain.

The following are even more striking parallels:

STERNE

As for that certain, very thin, subtle, and very fragrant juice which *Coglionissimo Borri*, the great *Milaneze* physician, affirms, in a letter to Bartholine, to have discovered in the cellulæ of the occipital parts of the cerebellum, and which he likewise affirms to be the principal seat of the reasonable soul (for you must know, in these latter and more enlightened ages, there are two souls in every man living . . .). p. 148

What, therefore, seem'd the least liable to objections of any, was, that the chief sensorium, or headquarters of the soul, and to which place all intelligences were referred, and from whence all her mandates were issued,—was in, or near, the cerebellum,—or rather somewhere

CHAMBERS

Borri, a Milanese physician, in a letter to Bartholine, *de ortu cerebri & usu medico*, asserts, that in the brain is found a certain, very subtle, fragrant juice, which is the principal seat or residence of the reasonable *soul*. . . . "Soul"

The philosophers, many of them, allow of two . . . kinds of soul. . . . "Soul"

. . . it has its principal residence in some particular part, called the sensory. "Soul"

Sensory, *Sensorium commune*, the seat of the common sense; or that part or place where the sensible soul is supposed more immediately to re-

³ Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, edited by James A. Work, New York, 1940, p. 232. All references are to this edition.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

STERNE

about the *medulla oblongata*, wherein it was generally agreed by *Dutch* anatomists, that all the minute nerves from all the organs of the seven senses concentered, like streets and winding alleys, into a square.

p. 149

CHAMBERS

side. The *sensory* is supposed to be that part of the brain wherein the nerves from all the organs of sense, terminate: which is generally allowed to be about the beginning of the *medulla oblongata*. . . .

"Sensory"

Further along in Chapter 19 Walter Shandy discourses upon the Caesarian operation, and here again the similarities are unmistakable, first in his list of those who came "side-way" into the world:

STERNE

Why, Sir, your *Julius Caesar*, who gave the operation a name; . . . your *Scipio Africanus*; your *Manlius Torquatus*; our *Edward* the Sixth. . . .

p. 152

CHAMBERS

. . . as were C. Julius Caesar, Scipio Africanus, Manlius, and our Edward 6. "Caesarian Section"

and later in his description of the operation:

STERNE

This incision of the *abdomen* and *uterus*, ran for six weeks together in my father's head;—he had read, and was satisfied, that wounds in the *epigastrium*, and those in the *matrix*, were not mortal;—so that the belly of the mother might be opened extremely well to give a passage to the child.

p. 153

CHAMBERS

. . . an incision through the abdomen into the uterus . . . that wounds in the muscles of the *Epigastrium* or *Peritoneum*, and those in the *Matrix*, are not mortal; so that the belly of the mother may be sometimes opened to give passage for the child. "Caesarian Section"

It should be noted, however, that none of his borrowings necessarily indicates that Sterne had not read widely of this curious lore in more original sources. The supposition is, rather, that when Sterne sat down to write a chapter of *Tristram Shandy* and memory provided suggestions but failed to supply details he knew where to turn—and it was to Chambers.

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SHELLEY'S *ADONAI*S, 177-179

Nought we know, dies. Shall that alone which knows
 Be as a sword consumed before the sheath
 By sightless lightning?

The figure of the mind-sword destroyed by lightning prior to the destruction of the enclosing body-sheath has probably seemed to Shelley's readers an extravagant metaphor that justifies the accusation that his conjunctions of image and idea are more private and emotional than organic and real. However, Shelley is here making use of an ancient tradition that was in the public domain and that can be traced to Seneca's description of a special kind of lightning by which "A sword is melted while the sheath remains."¹ In Thomas Hill's representative Renaissance account Seneca's example is combined with others from the elder Pliny: it "burneth man inwards, and consumeth the bodie to ashes, without harming the garments, it stayeth the yongling in the wombe, without harme to the mother, it consumeth money, the purses remayning whole, it melteth the sworde the sheath being whole."² This bit of folk-science persisted well into the nineteenth century, similar statements being recorded in Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* (art. "Thunder-Bolt")³ and Abraham Rees's *Cyclopaedia* (1810-42; art. "Fusion").

It is clear from Rees's entry that the belief had then passed from science to "unnatural" natural history. That Shelley drew his metaphor from this area is in accord with his usual poetic assumption that the mind's conceptions of the sensory world are real, whereas the sensory world is a fiction that "Mutability" shapes out of these conceptions.

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¹ *Quaestiones Naturales*, II, 31.

² *Contemplation of Mysteries*, London, [1571], fol. 56r-57. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. S. K. Heninger, Jr., who first called my attention to this tradition.

³ There were at least ten editions of this work in the eighteenth century.

THE KINGSLEY-NEWMAN CONTROVERSY AND THE APOLOGIA

The public reaction to Charles Kingsley's pamphlet, "What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?," was in Newman's favor, and several influential journals took up Newman's cause.¹ This provided the "fair prospect of an impartial hearing" for which Newman had waited since his conversion in 1845, and Newman was quick to take advantage of it. Within half an hour of his reception of Kingsley's pamphlet, he knew the course his reply would take. The world has the *Apologia pro Vita Sua* as a consequence.

It was Newman's publication of the Kingsley-Newman correspondence which enraged Kingsley to the point of publishing his pamphlet of ill-digested charges. In Kingsley's code of the Victorian gentleman, one did not publish one's correspondence with another gentleman. But did Newman publish the correspondence with the end in view of enraging Kingsley, so as to provide an occasion for his own retribution? In his introduction to the *Apologia*, Harrold says:

Indeed, even in his earlier controversial works, even in the affair of Tract XC, his [Newman's] record for honesty had been so good that he could afford to follow the maxim, "Honesty is the best policy." We may say this even if we agree with Wilfrid Ward that Newman deliberately published the Newman-Kingsley correspondence with a view to stirring up Kingsley's anger and thus reducing him as a formidable antagonist. It is possible, as Ward says, that Newman *simulated* his own feelings as part of his controversial technique, believing that "indignant and angry language" were appropriate for the occasion.²

Is it fair to Newman thus to interpret the indignant charge of ill-usage at the hands of Kingsley, which Newman makes in his publication of the correspondence?

There is much implicit in the correspondence, as Newman published it, to indicate that Ward's analysis is fair. For instance, on January 8, 1864, Newman wrote the body of his reply to "X. Y., Esq.," a gentleman who interposed, in a friendly but tactless

¹ John Henry Cardinal Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, edited by Charles Frederick Harrold (New York, 1947), xvii.

² *Ibid.*, xix.

manner, between Kingsley and Newman. On January 10, Newman added this sentence to his letter to X. Y.:

I will add, that any letter addressed to me by Mr. Kingsley, I account public property; not so, should you favour me with any fresh communication yourself.^a

X. Y. immediately showed the letter to Kingsley, who said in his next letter to Newman: "You say, that you will consider my letters as public. You have every right to do so." But there is no indication that Kingsley, who still talked of "the only course fit for a gentleman," really thought that Newman would publish the letters; and Newman, who may have formed between January 8 and January 10 the idea of publishing the correspondence, had registered his right to publication with a third party. If not an indication of intention to goad Kingsley to an indiscreet utterance, this may at least be interpreted as showing an ulterior design beyond the immediate controversy.

The precipitance with which Newman published the correspondence may itself be an indication that he had in mind enraging Kingsley. On January 31, only a little more than a week after his last letter to Macmillan and Company, and while the ink was still wet on the February issue of *Macmillan's*, Newman had assembled the correspondence and was topping it off with the pious Advertisement:

I am far indeed from implying any admission of the truth of Mr. Kingsley's accusations against the Catholic Church, although I have abstained from making any formal protest against them.

There was small practical reason for this hot haste; in a generous-spirited churchman, it would have been more seemly to wait a bit, to give Kingsley another chance to apologize, and to determine public sentiment more definitely. However, by striking while the iron was hot, Newman made clear his own indignation—and also added to Kingsley's wrath by taking him by surprise.

The tone of Newman's letters will indicate very little concerning his intention to publish, if we accept the thesis that he conceived

^a This and all subsequent references are to Newman's pamphlet, "Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: a Correspondence on the Question whether Dr. Newman Teaches that Truth Is No Virtue?", printed as Appendix I on Pages 357-372 of Harrold's edition of the *Apologia*. This sentence is on p. 365.

between January 8 and January 10 the idea of publication; only two Newman letters bear a date later than January 10. Significantly, however, one of these is the letter to Kingsley in which he lays out in parallel columns (a device sure to draw attention when used in a pamphlet) passages of "Mr. Kingsley's Letter" to *Macmillan's* and the "Unjust, but too probable, popular rendering of it." The general tone of this Newman letter is measurably, though not essentially, more oratorical than that of the previous ones; Newman may feel that he is addressing an audience beyond Kingsley. "Nevertheless," he says, "after giving your letter the benefit of both these considerations, I am sorry to say I feel it my duty to withhold from it the approbation which I fain would bestow." This is rather obviously striking an attitude; Newman is the kindly cleric, eager to judge even Kingsley in the best light. Compare the frank and simple language in his first letter to Kingsley, dated January 7: "When I received your letter, taking upon yourself the authorship, I was amazed."

The remaining Newman letter after January 10, his letter to Macmillan and Company of January 22, can obviously be justified as one "for the record," giving Newman a final opportunity to assert himself as dissatisfied with Kingsley's apology, although the forms of the February issue of *Macmillan's Magazine* must already have been locked, and the former editor of the *British Critic* must have known it. It should be noted that this letter is more than twice as long as Newman's letter to Macmillan of December 30, which had opened the correspondence. As compared with the first letter, this final letter is curiously indecisive. Contrast the spirited concluding sentence of the first letter:

I do but wish to draw the attention of yourselves, as gentlemen, to a grave and gratuitous slander, with which I feel confident you will be sorry to find associated a name so eminent as yours.

with the concluding paragraph of the last letter:

It only remains for me then to write to you again; and, in writing to you now, I do no more than I did on the 30th of December. I bring the matter before you, without requiring from you any reply.

It is almost as if Newman were not writing to Macmillan at all, but to the public; he seems so far to have forgotten Macmillan, that he can think of no concluding statement to match the spirit of

his letter. Noteworthy also in this letter is the elaboration of the passage concerning the friend to whom Newman has submitted the dispute for judgment. The passage opens:

Moreover, since sending to Mr. Kingsley that judgment, I have received a letter from a friend at a distance, whom I had consulted, a man about my own age, who lives out of the world of theological controversy and contemporary literature, and whose intellectual habits especially qualify him for taking a clear and impartial view of the force of words.

If Newman's letter was to go no farther than the publisher to whom it was addressed, there would seem to be no reason for concealing the name of Newman's friend. There would seem to be almost as little reason for reporting the friend's judgment to the publisher, who might regard criticism by such a retired soul as an impertinence. The public, however, might be willing to regard it as a valid argument that "though the two judgments are independent of each other, they in substance coincide."

Newman's analysis of the correspondence, justly famous as satire, may be interpreted, first as an attempt to clinch his case with the public, and second as an attempt further to arouse the ire of Kingsley. Especially note the concluding paragraphs:

While I feel then that Mr. Kingsley's February explanation is miserably insufficient in itself for his January enormity, still I feel also that the Correspondence, which lies between these two acts of his, constitutes a real satisfaction to those principles of historical and literary justice to which he has given so rude a shock.

Accordingly, I have put it into print, and make no further criticism on Mr. Kingsley.

Unless there was an intent to insult Kingsley deliberately, this would seem to be needless violence; indeed, the whole analysis of the correspondence bears a mocking tone which ill beseems a person of the benevolence which Newman assumes elsewhere in the pamphlet. The final sentence may be interpreted as a veiled but deliberate challenge to Kingsley to reply.

Thus, beginning at some time between January 8 and January 10, it would seem that Newman carried out deliberately the idea of publishing the correspondence, not as a vindication but as a provocation to further controversy to give him an opening for a full vindication. As the correspondence stood on January 8, it was evident that it would be carried out in bad spirits, and that con-

siderable smoke and heat would be generated. Although Newman did not know Kingsley personally, he must have known him by reputation as one of the most high-tempered members of the Liberal faction of the Church of England. Rousing him to an ill-mannered reply would be an easy matter for the rapier-like mind of Newman.

So much for the arguments for the thesis that Newman deliberately irked Kingsley. They all depend on a conception of Newman as standing apart from his own controversy, guiding his pen with a godlike lack of emotion as he writes to Kingsley or to X. Y. The varying emotions which have already been noted in the correspondence—biting sarcasm, as in the analysis; pious benevolence, as in the profession that he wishes Kingsley could have done better by his apology—seem to indicate that Newman's heart was genuinely moved by Kingsley's attack. A writer *simulating* emotion would be likely to make the emotion consistent, which Newman fails to do in this pamphlet. The stress of natural emotion, however, alternately intensifies and relaxes; a writer may feel some benevolent feeling for his opponent (if he is a benevolent man), and a few days later feel in a mood to bite off the opponent's ears. Newman certainly had reason to feel true emotion. Kingsley was guilty of a gross misrepresentation; Newman had a right to feel wounded by it, and was justified in wrath when it seemed that Kingsley was going to "get away" with it.

His reservation of Kingsley's correspondence as public property may be interpreted as precaution; since Kingsley had misrepresented him on one subject, he might do so on another. Newman perhaps hurried the correspondence into print because he was deeply concerned, too deeply to wait a decent interval; or because he wanted to present his explanation while Kingsley's weak apology was still in the public's mind; or because he wanted to keep the vindictive Kingsley from spreading other misrepresentations about him.

The change in tone of the Newman letters after January 10 may be explained by Newman's deepening personal concern; the letters grow more oratorical as it becomes clear that Kingsley is not going to give a full apology and Newman's wrath burns higher. The parallel-column device should have made the insufficiency of the apology clear even to Kingsley, and perhaps was meant only for that—it did procure a grudging retraction of two statements.

The indecision of the conclusion of Newman's final letter to Macmillan and Company may be due to despair; Kingsley's apology has gone to press, and there is nothing he can do about it. However, he wants the publishers to know the full story, and so tells them about his submission of the dispute to a friend, and his friend's decision—concealing the friend's name, since there is no need to draw him directly into the controversy. The conclusion of the analysis of the correspondence is needlessly violent, perhaps, because of the violence of Newman's feelings.

The question thus seems to rest on the fundamental conception of Newman's character. If he was a man of little emotion and scheming tendencies, it would be likely that he published the correspondence only to rouse Kingsley's wrath, in order, eventually, to vindicate himself. If he was a man of quick emotions and intense convictions—as seems more likely, from a reading of the *Apologia*—he probably published the correspondence only because he saw no other way to put his case before the public, and because he saw, as Kingsley did not, that the case had gone beyond considerations of gentlemanliness.

Time has dimmed the outlines of the Newman-Kingsley dispute, leaving the *Apologia*, like the stone legs of Ozymandias, as a noble monument to a forgotten controversy. We may be content with it.

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A NOTE ON BROWNING'S "BEN KARSHOOK'S WISDOM"

Browning's skill in combining into a consistent and unified whole materials from widely different sources is splendidly exemplified by his brief poem "Ben Karshook's Wisdom."¹ Into these "snarling verses"² based principally on Hebraic material he has consciously or unconsciously blended an anecdote told about

¹ *Works of Robert Browning*, ed. F. G. Kenyon (10 vols., London, 1912), III, 420. The poem was first printed in *The Keepsake* for 1856.

² Browning's own phrase in a letter to F. J. Furnivall, September 15, 1881 (*Letters from Robert Browning to Various Correspondents*, ed. T. J. Wise (2 vols., London, 1895), I, 71).

the painter Henry Fuseli. Yet the anecdote is so perfectly appropriate to the rest of the poem that it strengthens rather than injures the poem's unity.

In her book *Robert Browning and Hebraism* Judith Berlin-Lieberman has clearly pointed out that the first part of Browning's poem, that concerned with turning to God, is almost a direct translation of an incident told of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, a famous Jewish teacher of the first and second centuries A. D. She shows that Browning had ample authority for his characterization of Rabbi Eliezer as a fiery, sneering individual and that the poet displays amazing historical intuition in recreating accurately the controversy between the Pharisees and Sadducees over the immortality of the soul. Eliezer, a strong Pharisee, would most certainly like Ben Karshook have been very severe to the doubting young Sadducee. Furthermore, the allusions to Hebrew lore in the epilogue of the poem are proved to be meaningful.³

Thus Miss Berlin-Lieberman excellently explains the Hebraic background of the poem as a whole and points out the specific sources for the first section and for the epilogue. But for the second section, that dealing with immortality, she finds no specific Hebraic parallel. This part reads as follows:

Quoth a young Sadducee:
 "Reader of many rolls,
 "Is it so certain we
 "Have, as they tell us, souls?"
 "Son, there is no reply!"
 The Rabbi bit his beard;
 "Certain, a soul have I—
 "We may have none," he sneer'd.

A close parallel to these stanzas is to be found in an anecdote told of the painter Henry Fuseli (1741-1825), a man famous for his stinging wit and ability to end discussion with a crushing retort. Robert Lytton, First Earl of Lytton, tells the story as follows:

A story is told of a discussion between Fuseli and a young and enthusiastic materialist. 'You assert, then,' said the latter, 'that I have an immortal soul?' 'Sir,' replied Fuseli, 'I have asserted nothing of the kind. What I assert is that *I* have an immortal soul.'⁴

This has all the elements of Browning's incident.

³ (Jerusalem, 1934), pp. 30-35.

⁴ *The Life, Letters and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton*,

Though it cannot specifically be proved that Browning was familiar with the anecdote about Fuseli, the likelihood is great. Anecdotes about the eccentric painter were legion in the first half of the century.⁵ Browning, who was intensely interested all his life in art, artists, and stories about artists, made Mary Wollstonecraft's infatuation for Fuseli the subject of his poem "Mary Wollstonecraft and Fuseli" in the *Jocoseria* volume of 1883.⁶ That he was familiar with Fuseli's works much earlier is shown by his mention in a letter to Elizabeth Barrett in 1845 of Fuseli's theory about a scene in *Macbeth*.⁷ When in April, 1854 he composed "Ben Karshook's Wisdom," he was in Rome, associating with a number of artists, some of whom may well have been former pupils of Fuseli at the Royal Academy, where the painter had been Keeper and Professor of Painting until his death in 1825.⁸ Furthermore, Robert Lytton, the very man from whom the incident is

by his Son (London, 1883), II, 17. John Knowles in *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli* (3 vols., London, 1831, I, 391) tells a similar anecdote out of which Lytton's may have grown: "Fuseli was maintaining the immortality of the soul; a gentleman present said, 'I could make you or any man of sense disbelieve this in half an hour's conversation.' Fuseli immediately answered, 'That I am sure you could not, and I will take care you shan't.'" Note that Browning is very likely attacking the Positivists' theory of a composite soul of humanity. While in Lytton's anecdote the young materialist asks in effect, "Do I have a soul," in Browning's poem the Sadducee inquires whether *we* have souls. Fuseli's answer implies merely that the materialist personally may have no soul; Ben Karshook's apposition of "*we*" to "*I*" may well be a sneer at the concept of a general human soul. This interpretation is supported by his comment on "grammar" in the last stanza.

⁵ See, for instance, S. Spooner, *Anecdotes of Painters, Engravers, Sculptors, and Architects* (3 vols. in 1, New York, c1853), II, 59-90.

⁶ *Works*, edition cited, x, 23-24.

⁷ *The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. 1845-1846* (2 vols., New York, 1899), I, 65. He owned copies of the two books written by Fuseli, his *Lectures on Painting* and his *History of Arts* (William C. DeVane, *A Browning Handbook*, New York, 1935, p. 419).

⁸ The Brownings were especially intimate with the sculptor William Wetmore Story and his family. See W. Hall Griffin and Harry C. Minchin, *The Life of Robert Browning* (New York, 1910), pp. 192-195, and *New Letters of Robert Browning*, ed. William C. DeVane and Kenneth L. Knickerbocker (New Haven, 1950), pp. 67-76. The poem itself is dated "Rome, April 27, 1854." Death and immortality may have been especially on Browning's mind at this time because of the death of the Storys' first son and the dangerous illness of their little daughter.

quoted above, was in 1854 a close friend and frequent companion of the Brownings.⁹ It seems entirely likely that Browning heard the story from some artist friend and put it into verse.

If one does accept the incident about Fuseli as the source for the second section of Browning's poem, the poet's skill in integrating diverse materials becomes evident. As Miss Berlin-Lieberman has shown, the anecdote fits perfectly the personality, historical period, and religious thought of Rabbi Eliezer (here called Rabbi Ben Karshook). Yet to fill out and strengthen the poem, another man of personality similar to Eliezer has been fused into Ben Karshook. Ben Karshook is also Henry Fuseli, who was described thus in an obituary in *Blackwood's*:

He was a formidable, but rarely an unfair opponent, and seldom employed his talent for ridicule, but when flippancy, or presumptuous ignorance, demanded castigation. Coxcombs, and pretenders of all sorts, he detested; and was equally averse from the impropriety and bad taste in which some individuals indulge, in making the most serious subjects the topics of ordinary and frivolous discourse, and the vehicle for calumny and impotent sarcasm. To these thoughtless delinquents he showed no mercy; and on one occasion, it is said, when chance had thrown him into company with a young man of the above description, though in many respects possessed of real genius, he handled him so roughly, and attacked his impertinence with such tremendous energy, as quickly to reduce him to a state of silence, and almost to annihilation.¹⁰

Browning has cleverly and effectively borrowed from the painter for his rabbi. Yet both rabbi and painter are in many respects Robert Browning.

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SWEENEY AMONG THE EPIGRAPHS

For those who still find T. S. Eliot's "Sweeney among the Nightingales" less than crystalline, there is some assistance provided by the second and seldom-printed epigraph, which the poet

⁹ See Robert, First Earl of Lytton, *Letters from Owen Meredith to Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, ed. A. B. and J. L. Harlan (Waco, Texas, 1936), pp. xx, xxii-xxiii, and *passim*.

¹⁰ "Memoir of the Late Henry Fuseli, Esq. R. A.," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, xxiii (May, 1828), 574.

dropped in the 1920 *Poems*, and which Jane Worthington did not include in her analysis of Eliot's epigraphs (*AL*, xxi, 1949). It is a quotation from the anonymous play *The Reign of King Edward the Third* (1590?), published in Tucker Brooke's *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* in 1918, the year Eliot wrote "Sweeney": "Why should I speak of the nightingale? The nightingale sings of adulterous wrong" (II. i. 109-110).

This reference to Philomela and Tereus not only points up the symbolical quality of the Convent nightingales in the modern poem, but gives more body to the action and the characterization in the rest of the piece. First, the fact that the lines are spoken by King Edward while planning the seduction of the married Countess of Salisbury substantiates the likelihood that there is sexual plotting going on in "Sweeney." Secondly, since Edward is a king, and since the other epigraph involves King Agamemnon, the contrast between Sweeney and ancient royalty is further emphasized, along with the sordidness of the situations in which all three men—royal or not—are involved.

Doubtless, Eliot dropped the Elizabethan passage because (a) one epigraph is enough for a short poem, (b) Agamemnon is part of the poem proper while Edward is not, and (c) whereas Agamemnon is a tragic hero, Edward is merely a face-card in an English chronicle play, a hero who not only survives all his crises but who allows virtue and the Countess of Salisbury to shame his lust. However, in removing the signpost to the play, Eliot delayed elucidation of specific parts of his obscure second stanza.

For one thing, the notion that "the hornèd gate" refers to the crescent moon rather than to the Hadean gates of horn is corroborated by a line in *Edward III* that seems to be the source of the phrase, as well as of "The circles of the [stormy] moon." In III. i. 62 ff., a French Mariner describes the impressive approach of the British Armada before the battle of Crécy, noting (71-72) that the sails are decorated with (or, possibly, resemble) "the horned Circle of the Moone."

Finally, *Edward III* reveals the meaning of "Death and the Raven drift above," which one might otherwise connect with "Gloomy Orion and the Dog," assuming that because Orion, the Dog (Canis), and the Raven (Corvus) are constellations (visible in the Southern Hemisphere and therefore from the River Plate),

"Death" must also be a constellation—possibly Hydra or Scorpio. However, a striking passage in iv. v of the play, foreshadowed in an earlier simile (iii. ii. 49-51), is surely the illuminating source of Eliot's line, and it has nothing to do with constellations.

In this scene, before the fateful battle of Poitiers, the French King John witnesses an awful omen: the sun is blotted out (cf. Eliot's "veiled") by a flight of ravens, and "earth is as a graue, / Darke, deadly, silent, and vncomfortable" (iv. v. 17-18). Although the King can "call to mind [a] prophesie" (39) and twist it to forecast the defeat of the English, his son Philip's report of the phenomenon (28-38) is more convincing and memorable:

A flight of vgly rauens
Do croke and houer ore our souldiers heads, . . .
With their approach there came this sodain fog,
Which now hath hid the airie floor of heauen
And made at noone a night vnnaturall
Vpon the quaking and dismaied world:
In briefe, our souldiers haue let fall their armes,
And stand like metamorphosed images,
Bloudlesse and pale, one gazing on another.

Just as the ugly ravens hover over the French army, producing a kind of living death and presaging fatal downfall, so do "Death and the Raven drift above" Eliot's loungers, limiting action to somnambulism, yet creating the "sense of foreboding" (Eliot's phrase for what he consciously set out to produce in the poem) that connects the fate of Apeneck Sweeney with that of King Agamemnon.

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THE FATAL EFFECTS OF SEDUCTION (1789)

Though the most celebrated literary by-product of the Perez Morton scandal of 1788 in Boston is a portion of the first American novel, William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy*,¹ less distinguished gleanings have been noted.² Unavailable for study until

¹ See Emily Pendleton and Milton Ellis, *Philenia, The Life and Works of Sarah Wentworth Morton, 1759-1846*, Orono, Maine, 1931, pp. 32-39.

² In Richard Walser, "More about the First American Novel," *American Literature*, xxiv (1952), 352-357.

recently, a still further item³ now joins the growing Perez Morton literary ana. This publication, an anonymous 23-page dramatic piece, has the following engaging title:

The Fatal Effects of Seduction, A Tragedy. Written for the Use of the Students of Clio Hall, in Bennington, to be Acted on Their Quarter Day, April 28, 1789. Founded on the Story of an Unhappy Young Lady of Boston. By a Friend of Literature. Bennington [Vt.]. Printed by Haswell & Russell.⁴

By 1789 the well-known Morton case had been widely discussed. In brief, Morton had seduced Fanny Apthorpe, younger sister of his wife, the poet Sarah Wentworth (Apthorpe) Morton. After Fanny's suicide in August, 1788, the scandal was the talk of New England. Both press and littérateurs joined in.

Not only in the title does *The Fatal Effects of Seduction* make clear the relationship between it and the Morton incident. After stating that the theatre has long dealt with the "deep distress of royalty," which, the audience is told, has little likeness to the suffering of the average person, Martin Harmon, presumably a student at Clio Hall, explains in the role of the Prologue:

Our poet of to-night presents a play,
Form'd on the occurrence of a recent day;
A scene of sorrow acted in our land,
Which scarce a child can fail to understand:
He brings the troubles of a youthful maid,
Her virtue lost; Her innocence betray'd:
A scene ye fair, which for your use is pen'd,
By a (perhaps too bold, but) real friend:
Whose only aim was simply to pourtray,
The sad effects, when artful men betray;
To shew wherein such guilty pleasures lead,
How strict a guard the inclinations need,
And what sad scenes from rashness may proceed.⁵

³ Until Nov. 17, 1952, the only known copy of the piece under discussion was in the private library of John Spargo, Old Bennington, Vt. On that date it was purchased by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

⁴ So listed in Frank Pierce Hill, *American Plays Printed 1714-1830*, Stanford University, 1934, p. 40. The unique copy at AAS lacks this title page and the last part of the Epilogue; but according to a letter dated Nov. 24, 1953, from Clifford K. Shipton, Librarian at AAS, the description of the book was supplied by Spargo, who got it from an advertisement in the *Vermont Gazette* for Apr. 27, 1789. The running titles read *The Fatal Effects / of Seduction*.

⁵ *The Fatal Effects of Seduction*, p. [iii].

In irregular but not always ineffective blank verse, the short three-act drama proceeds to relate the principal events of the Morton tragedy. In the Boston home of Severus (James Apthorpe, Fanny's father), Sophia (Fanny) contemplates suicide. Even as Lysander (Morton) urges her not to reveal the incest and thus bring shame upon them all, her father threatens to cast her, a "base, deceiving, loose abandoned prostitute,"⁶ from the house, if she does not name the villain. Matilda (Mrs. Apthorpe), Rosanna (Sarah Wentworth Morton), and Lysander fail, in turn, to dissuade him from his purpose. Sophia, resolved to silence, drinks poison at the very moment Severus begins to relent. The play ends with a scene not part of the Morton history. Lysander attempts to stab himself, then turns upon the father with murderous fury, shouting that he will "let Severus glut his vengeful soul."⁷

The Epilogue is spoken by William Griswold "in his female dress."⁸ Griswold, also presumably a student, recites that the playwright has erred in not depicting Sophia's being subjected to the crafty arts of the tempter and in not picturing

Lysander's wiles,
By which, at length, her virtue he beguiles;
Or show the noble struglings of her soul,
While gentle virtue bore supreme controul,
Ere vice had cast its shade upon the whole. . . .⁹

If the author had done this, Griswold explains, young ladies would subsequently be able to recognize the cunning of men who seek to "urge them on to scenes of lawless love."¹⁰

But what the dramatist presents is quite sufficient. The most astonishing aspect of *The Fatal Effects of Seduction* is not its close adherence to the incidents of the Morton scandal, nor even its likeness to portions of Brown's *The Power of Sympathy*. Its most surprising feature is that it should have been thought a fit and proper dramatic exercise for academy students celebrating their Quarter Day in remote, eighteenth-century Vermont, even though "scarce a child can fail to understand" the play.

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⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. [22]. ⁹ *Loc. cit.* ¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

PLAGIARISM: SEALSFIELD OR SIMMS?

In an essay "The Old South in Literary Histories" which Professor Hubbell published in the July, 1949, issue of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, he makes the following statement (p. 464) in commenting on errors and oversights made in the Spiller (*et al.*) *Literary History of the United States*:

In another chapter Henry A. Pochmann accepts without questions A. B. Faust's statement that Simms "borrowed a telling episode for *Guy Rivers*" from a book by Charles Sealsfield, which as the Bibliography shows, was published the year after *Guy Rivers*. In a letter in the Boston Public Library, which has been published only in part, Simms explains to Griswold just what Sealsfield had plagiarized from him. One wonders that the editors, even though only one of them has ever done any research in the Southern field, did not catch some of these errors in manuscript or proof."

The Faust statement referred to above is found in his *Charles Sealsfield. Der Dichter Beider Hemisphären*. (Weimar 1897, 6) The paragraph in question reads:

Der Roman "Guy Rivers," von William Gilmore Simms (veröffentlicht im Jahre 1834) enthält ein Kapitel, von welchem Griswold und Trent behaupteten, dass Sealsfield es kopiert habe. Der fragliche Teil ist das VI. Kapitel in "Guy Rivers," wo ein Yankee-Hausierer, Namens Jared Bunce, erscheint, welchen die Regulatoren "theeren und federn," weil er verfälschte Waren verkauft hat. In Sealsfields *Ralph Doughbys Brautfahrt* (I. Kapitel) wird der Yankee Jared Bundle in nicht ganz so grausamer Weise für dasselbe Verbrechen, welches er an Bord eines Mississippi-Dampfers begeht, bestraft. Da aber Sealsfields "Transatlantische Reiseskizzen," seiner eigenen Aussage nach, bereits 1828-29 geschrieben und einige davon in amerikanischen Journalen während dieser Zeit veröffentlicht wurden (siehe *New York Mirror*, 31. Okt. 1829; 7. Nov. 1829), so kann man viel eher annehmen, dass dieses Kapitel von dem deutschen Schriftsteller entnommen ist, wenn man nicht die Hypothese aufstellen will, dass beide Autoren es aus einer dritten, uns noch unbekannten Quelle schöpften.

The Griswold statement to which Faust refers is made in his *Prose Writers of America* (Philadelphia, 1856, 504) in the article on Simms:

It is worth mentioning, that the German author Sealsfield has borrowed very largely from his works, and that whole pages which he has translated almost literally from *Guy Rivers*, have been praised abroad as superior to any thing done by Americans in describing their own country.

Griswold's words, as we shall show, are an unverified restatement of the accusations which Simms made in the letter to Griswold to which Hubbel refers. At this particular time Griswold's eyes were giving him serious trouble, so it is understandable that he would not exert them by reading the comparatively difficult print used in Sealsfield's works at this time.

The letter in the Boston Public Library is dated "Dec. 1846." It is not an original but a copy by an unknown hand. It was written in response to an inquiry by Griswold and gives a very full account of Simms's career as writer. The passage to which Hubbel has reference is:

By the way, whole pages of *Guy Rivers* have been stolen by Seatsfield and have been quoted abroad as superior to what could be done by an American, even describing his own country. My Jared Bunce is his Jared Bendell [*sic*]*—so close is the plagiarism.*

Simms says no more on the point and makes no effort to prove his case. It is very probable that he was quoting from one of the many reviews of Sealsfield's works which filled the American papers from border to border during this time, reviews which always referred to Sealsfield as "Seatsfield." The error, as is clear from the context, goes back to Theodor Mundt's *Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1842, 425 f.), which had rated "Seatsfield" higher even than Cooper or Irving.¹ This criticism was taken up by the American press and aroused the tempers of many Americans, including Poe. Accusations of plagiarism soon followed, but without evidence. The situation was further complicated by the fact that *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was then publishing a series of sketches from Sealsfield without identifying the source. Seatsfield was then also accused by some critics of stealing from Blackwood's, while Blackwood's, as I shall show in a study not yet completed for publication, was *really* pirating from Sealsfield.

William P. Trent, Professor of History in the University of the South, caught the exaggeration of Griswold's and Simms's statements, and in a footnote to a comment on Sealsfield in his biography *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston, 1892, 88) says:

¹ Karl J. Arndt and Henry Groen: "Sealsfield, The 'Greatest American Author.'" *American-German Review*, June, 1941, 12-15.

Sealsfield is said to have copied whole pages from *Guy Rivers* in one of his stories. This is an exaggeration. Cf. *The Courtship of Ralph Doughby, Esquire*, chap. I. with *Guy Rivers*, chap. VI.

But what are the essential facts in the two works concerned? In the sixth chapter of the first volume of *Guy Rivers* the regulators have just caught a certain "Yankee pedler—one Jared Bunce." He is described as "a more cunning and presumptuous rapsallion don't come from all Connecticut" before the reader sees anything of him. Jared Bunce is dragged before the group assembled in the frontier village tavern to be tried. A lawyer is asked to take the chair as judge. When the trial gives way to uncontrolled violence the judge resigns, and the regulators start a fire in front of the tavern and burn all of the pedler's wares. He is not tarred and feathered, as Faust reported. While the fire is burning, the lawyer suggests to Jared Bunce that he might sue the group for damages and that he would be glad to handle the case for him. Since he fears for Jared's life and wants to help him escape, he gives him his own fast horse to make a getaway to his home, where the lawyer expects to join him shortly to prepare the papers for the lawsuit. In the seventh chapter, then, we see a rather heavy drinking scene during the course of which a negro boy delivers a note to the lawyer from Jared stating that he had decided to keep on moving and to stay away from the region for a while. He estimates his damages at about \$570, allows the lawyer \$100 for his horse, and asks the lawyer to send him the rest of the money at Meriden, Connecticut.

Sealsfield's pedler scene is completely different. Jared Bundle, the pedler, here appears on a Mississippi River steamboat. His Negro stooge gets the attention of all the passengers on deck by letting a box of patent medicine fall on his foot, which Jared then heals, using the opportunity to sell his wares to the passengers. The pedler is shown in humorous action in a manner not unlike that of some of our popular radio advertisers today, until a Missourian, with the help of the ship's steward, tests one of his teakettles and finds that it leaks because it has lost all its solder. There is a big noise about a trial. The captain appears and, in the name of the ladies, asks that the men go easy on Jared. This assurance is given and a committee is elected to test all wares that have been sold. The sale of good products is confirmed, while

all articles failing to stand up to this "community research" are returned, the money refunded, and the wares dropped into the Mississippi. In recognition of the pedler's "republican stoicism" during his trial, he is invited to a "go the whole hog cocktail." He accepts in a fine speech in which he asks whether anyone in the audience could help him get a job as a school teacher. Sealsfield then concludes the scene with this apt quotation from Halleck describing Yankees in the South:

Apostates, who are meddling,
With merchandise, pounds, shillings, pence and peddling.
Or wandering through southern Climes teaching,
The ABC from Webster's spelling-book,
Gallant and godly, making love and preaching,
And gaining by what they call Hook and Crook,
And what the moralists call overreaching,
A decent living. The Virginians look
Upon them with as favourable eyes,
As Gabriel on the Devil in Paradise.

Plagiarism? *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt*, from which the above is quoted, was published in Zürich in 1835, but, as the foreword, dated August 15, 1835, tells us, this work is a continuation of the *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen*, which had been published in Zürich in 1834, the same year that *Guy Rivers* was first published. The character Ralph Doughby had already played a significant part in the *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen*. Sealsfield did not get the desired order into these sketches until he published the second edition of these works, where the *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen* are given the new title *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt* and constitute the first part of the *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre*, in which series *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt* constitutes the second part. It is true, as Faust has written, that Sealsfield's *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen* (i. e. *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*) in part had been published by Sealsfield in the *New York Mirror* as early as 1829, but the pedler scene is not one of these published scenes, and it is also not a part of the *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen*, so the possibility that Simms copied from Sealsfield must be ruled out. Faust very likely confused *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt* and *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt*. In view of the confusing order of Sealsfield's works such a mistake could easily happen. In all probability Sealsfield

had read *Guy Rivers* before he published *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt*, because he kept up to date on everything that was published in America, be it book, journal, or newspaper, but I do not believe that the charge of plagiarism could be upheld against him. It is probable that Sealsfield got some local color from *Guy Rivers*, as he got local color from newspapers, but it surely is exaggerated to say that he stole whole pages from Simms. Since the newspapers of the time were full of tales of this kind, it is, however, just as likely—as Faust also has suggested—that Simms and Sealsfield each found the source for Jared in a newspaper story.

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A TRAVELLER'S COMMENTS ON MELVILLE'S *TYPEE*

On August 23, 1855, the U. S. S. *St. Mary's* anchored for two days at Nukuhiva, scene of Herman Melville's *Typee*. The clerk of this vessel, A. G. Jones, made some comments on Melville's romance which have been duly noticed by students of Melville. Jones, however, had a shipmate who wrote a hitherto unnoticed article on *Typee* and Melville. This article, headed "Dottings About Island Coasts / Written for the New York 'Spirit of the Times' by 'Grs. X.,'" appeared in the *Spirit of the Times*, a leading sporting journal, with the dateline "U. S. S. *St. Mary's*, at Sea, Nov. 20, 1855."¹ Both Jones and "Grs. X." enumerate the members of the group that went ashore. The pseudonymous author writes: "Our party consisted of the Governor, a Doctor of the station, an Interpreter, our Skipper, his Clerk, 'Mac' of our mess, and yours, 'Grs. X.'" Jones of course is the clerk; "Mac" is known to be Lieutenant Robert McArann. Jones himself wrote: "Our party consisted of Capt Bailey, Commandant Jouan, the French Doctor, & Drayton, McArann & myself, and also, as an Interpreter, a man from 'Guayaquil' named 'Moreta' . . ." Thus Drayton is the only name given by Jones which is not also given

¹ *Spirit*, xxvi (May 24, 1856), 170-171. "Grs. X." may mean "Ten Grains," a phrase then used in medical prescriptions. The pseudonym "Ten Grains" was used by the same writer in the *Spirit*, xxvi (September 27, 1856), 387.

by "Grs. X." As a matter of fact, the ship's doctor was one E. K. Drayton. Drayton, then, appears to be "Grs. X."²

Drayton relates how he and his companions enjoyed dinner with the commandant and then took a hike through the Taipi valley. He next says:

There are few persons in the States who have not read that fairy tale of Herman Melville called "Typee." The book has been severely criticized, but I have never read pencillings so beautiful and so full of truth as may be found upon almost every page. All that he writes of Polynesian scenery and life may be relied upon. But it must be remembered that the author of "Typee" is a poet, and is therefore condemned by the inductive and scientific men of the day. Let any true poet invade their provinces, as Melville did, by polishing up their geology, digging up their archaeology [sic], beautifying and culling their botany, and handling them all with the rough license of the imagination—let him do this, and they are down on him! None but a poet can write such a book as "Typee." I have not seen Fayaway nor Tinor, nor Kori-Kori, for they are all dead now who once had the care of Melville, but I have seen their birthplace, and have talked with their friends. And I have known a Typee girl, one Piiu, than whom Fayaway was not more beautiful nor fond, although daguerreotyped by such a pen as Melville's.

Drayton portrays Piiu as she will look when she is old; then he adds: "Melville's Fayaway did not live long enough to be all this. She died early, as all beauties should, and perhaps a broken heart took her off. Indeed, a friend of Fayaway told me that she never 'got over' Melville's desertion." But Drayton then says: "The very essence of all the enchanting pencillings of Fayaway reduces her beauty, her affection, and her fidelity, to the standard of mere animality. Therefore, such essays on Typee Platonisms are, at best, but balderdash. Ask the hundred whaling captains, that visit the islands of the Pacific occasionally 'for fresh,' and they will tell you truer tales of Fayaway than can be found in 'Typee.'"

The doctor further criticizes Melville for neglecting the disgusting spectacle of old age in Polynesia (although Melville certainly does not flatter the "hideous old wretches" of the Ti house or the parents of Kory-Kory), and denies that Fayaway could have blushed.³ He continues:

² The officers' list of the *St. Mary's* for 1855-1856 was supplied me by Rear-Admiral John B. Heffernan (Ret.), Director of Naval History, Department of the Navy, Washington, D. C., to whom I am indebted.

³ See *The Works of Herman Melville* (London, 1922), I, 114.

But it is not fair to paint these exclusively bright pictures of Typee life. This was Herman Melville's fault. He tells, for instance, of rich feasts on loupaued pigs; his reader would never dream that half these pigs are young dogs. It is a common custom to eat dogs in all the islands of Polynesia; and he could not have lived four months in close intimacy with Tinor's larder without discovering that much of the pig was a deal of the dog. But I have already said that the author is a poet, and we will admit that it did not suit the "romance of the thing" to make the pretty Fayaway gulp down choice cutlets of a tender cur.

Thus "Grs. X." reemphasizes Melville's coloring of reality with romance in *Typee*. In addition, the romantic gossip about Fayaway, acquired by Drayton in 1855, does not necessarily disagree with the statement of H. A. Wise, to whom in 1848 an unprepossessing native maid of all work with a child tumbling about her was pointed out as Fayaway. But Drayton's account does differ from the rumor which reached "R. S.," who visited Nukuhiva in 1867, that "Fa-a-wa and a daughter of Melville's were still living, the former an old woman."⁴

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A COMMENT ON SECTION 5 OF WHITMAN'S "SONG OF MYSELF"

There is such universal agreement that Section 5 of "Song of Myself" is the most complete description of a mystical experience in *Leaves of Grass* and consequently there has been so vast a body of commentary on it that it may appear unnecessary to say anything further on the passage. Nevertheless, there is one aspect of Whitman's description of the results of his mystical experience that, I believe, has been overlooked. In the present brief article I should like to direct attention to it.

Section 5 may be said to be composed of four ideological elements. The first is contained in the first two lines, in which the poet affirms: "I believe in you my soul, the other I am [meaning

⁴Accounts of these and other visitors to the island are quoted or summarized in C. R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939), pp. 114-115, and Jay Leyda, *The Melville Log* (New York, 1951), I, pp. 319-320, and II, pp. 505-506 and 694.

"the body"] must not abase itself to you, / And you must not be abased to the other." This idea is so frequently expressed in *Leaves of Grass* that we are almost too familiar with it.

The second element follows in the next three lines:

Loafe with me on the grass—loose the stop from your throat,
Not words, not music or rhyme I want—not custom or lecture, not even
the best,
Only the lull I like, the hum of your valvèd voice.

The poet here repeats the idea of the fourth line of Section 1 of the poem: "I loafe and invite my soul." The image is expanded in the direction of an auditory sense-impression. The soul is to communicate a pleasurable "hum," not formalized, so to speak, into music, verse, instruction, or moral counsel. The word "custom" is not at all clear, but if Whitman meant by it "established usage" there is little violation of the context of thought.

The third element attempts to describe a specific experience:

I mind how once we [my soul and I] lay, such a transparent summer
morning,
How you settled your head athwart my hips, and gently turn'd over upon
me,
And parted the shirt from my bosom-bone, and plunged your tongue to my
bare-stript heart,
And reach'd till you felt my beard, and reach'd till you held my feet.

Here the auditory image is completely abandoned and instead the sense of touch is invoked. On the grass, in June, according to the 1855 text, the soul, now conceived of as a separate person, placed its head across the poet's hips, then turned over, opened his shirt to expose his breastbone, plunged its tongue directly into his heart, and, finally, reached out one hand [presumably] to the poet's head and the other to his feet. In other words, the soul after fondly engaging in outward caressing eventually made contact with all parts of the body, employing the tongue as well as hands. While all of this sounds rather "sexy," and even ridiculous, the idea is not at all unusual in the history of attempts to describe the mystical experience in sensory terms. All that Whitman is really saying is that he had a mystical experience.

The final element in Section 5 acquaints us with the results of this unusually intense contact of soul with body:

Swiftly arose and spread around me the peace and knowledge that pass all
the argument of the earth,

And I know that the hand of God is the promise of my own,

And I know that the spirit of God is the brother of my own,

And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the women my
sisters and lovers,

And that a kelson of the creation is love,

And limitless are leaves, stiff or drooping in the fields,

And brown ants in the little wells beneath them,

And mossy scabs of the worm fence, and heap'd stones, elder, mullein and
poke-weed.

A feeling of peace and ineffable knowledge far transcending earthly understanding or logic results. The poet knows as a part of this marvellous wisdom that he is in the closest communion with God and at the same time he is the brother and lover of all men and women, that the kelson [keel, or basis] of all creation is love, and that even the lowliest particulars of the creation—leaves, ants, primitive vegetation on the rails of a zig-zag wooden fence, stones, elderberry bushes, mullein and poke-weed—are each and all "limitless," that is, without bounds, vast, infinite.

Once again, in spite of the vigorous individuality in at least the final four lines, there is nothing unusual in most of this statement of the results of the special contact of soul and body. Almost all mystics who have written about the message from above, the communication from the spiritual realm, have mentioned peace, unbounded knowledge, communion with God, and the miraculousness of nature and its multifarious components. A good many have also mentioned love as the base on which all things rest. But none other than Whitman, so far as I know, has ever brought into conjunction with these ideas that of fraternity with all men and women.

In fact, Whitman in this respect controverts one of the most widely mentioned characteristics of the mystical experience, namely, its lonely or solitary nature. Plotinus's phrase "the flight of the alone to the alone" is generally accepted as standard. In the intense absorption in God the mystic is supposed to forget family, friends, and the world. But Whitman did not conform to the pattern in this respect. The basis of his humanism and his democratic conceptions—love for one's fellow men, the Calamus idea—derived from the very essence of his religious nature. Even

in the ecstasy of intimate contact with God he felt the strong bonds of his ties with man. This, I believe, is unique in the history of mystical poetry.¹

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MHD. *LEIT* = BELEIDIGUNG?

Friedrich Maurers Abhandlung *Leid*, als "Studien zur Bedeutungs- und Problemgeschichte" bezeichnet,¹ stellt wohl den ersten Versuch dar, Philologie und Geisteswissenschaft systematisch zu verbinden, um dadurch eine geistige Wandlung zu verfolgen, die in der Stauferzeit stattgefunden haben soll. Wortgeschichtliche Analysen liefern Grundlagen für geisteswissenschaftliche Folgerungen. Es ist zu hoffen, dass die Problemstellung Maurers Nachfolge finden wird, aber da die Annahme, dass alle Nachfolger ihm an Umsicht und Gründlichkeit gleichkommen, optimistisch wäre, scheint es angebracht, Maurers Methoden einer eingehenden Prüfung zu unterziehen und etwaige am grünen Holze nachweisbare Gebrechen aufzuzeigen, bevor sie am dünnen noch deutlicher und störender zum Vorschein kommen.

In der Erkenntnis der Unzulänglichkeit unserer Wörterbücher hat Maurer die Mühe nicht gescheut, einen beträchtlichen Teil der Quellen erneut durchzuarbeiten, und gibt der Besprechung der einzelnen Dichtungen Listen der Stellenbelege für *leit* (*leide*) und für andere Leidtermini bei. Sammlungen für *êre* finden sich im Anhang. Diese Zusammenstellungen sichern dem Buche einen bleibenden Wert. Die Art aber, wie Maurer Bedeutungsgeschichte treibt und sie mit der Begriffsgeschichte verbindet, reizt immer

¹ I am aware that many Christian poets who were mystics announced that they were instructed to go out and save mankind, but none, so far as I know, puts this idea on a par with communication with God or the Virgin Mary. The democratic or, if you like, the social message from above is so far removed from the range of traditional Oriental mysticism that I feel safe in saying, despite my ignorance, that nothing like Whitman's conviction on this point is even adumbrated in the vast body of mystical utterances by poets of the East.

² *Leid, Studien zur Bedeutungs- und Problemgeschichte, besonders in den grossen Epen der Staufischen Zeit*. Bibliotheca Germanica, 1. (Bern und München, 1951).

wieder zum Widerspruch, und besonders in den späten Kapiteln fragt man sich, ob es ihm gelungen ist, seine geistesgeschichtlichen Folgerungen mit Sicherheit aus dem Sprachmaterial abzuleiten.

Ganz allgemein ist zu sagen, dass es ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit ist, Wörter aus dem Begriffsfeld des Gefühls in ihrer "Bedeutung" eindeutig und klar zu umreißen; das wird jedem klar, der Reunings vorbildliche Studie des sprachlichen Feldes "Joy und Freude"² gelesen hat, wo auf die Unbestimmtheit dieser Wörter hingewiesen wird. Obwohl auch Maurer anerkennt, dass Ausdrücke von diesem Typus in ihrer Bedeutung "vielfältig schwanken und schillern, ja eine ungeheure Weite und Vielfalt des Inhaltes in sich *jeweils* (von mir kursiv) vereinigen," grenzt er seine Belege ab, indem er sie in feste Gruppen bestimmter "Bedeutungen" einordnet, mit Etiketten versehen wie: "Sorge," "Schmerz, tiefer Schmerz," "Kummer," "Kummer, der auf Sorge ruht," "tiefes Bedauern," "seelischer Bruch," "tiefes Leid, Trauer," "Beleidigung, Schande" usw. Solche Abgrenzungen lassen sich nicht ohne Gewaltsamkeiten durchführen, auch kommt zu der Unbestimmtheit der zu untersuchenden Wörter als erschwerendes Moment noch die Unbestimmtheit der zur Definition gebrauchten mhd. Termini. Diese Unsicherheit führt wiederholt zu greifbaren Inkonsequenzen: Maurer bringt z. B. einen und denselben Beleg in zwei Bedeutungsrubriken (NIB. 1590,2 unter "Sorge" und dann wieder unter "seelischer Schmerz"; IW. 4417 findet sich mit einem *vielleicht* unter "Sorge" wie auch unter "Schmerz, Kummer") oder er erklärt—interessant für die Methodik in der Bestimmung der Bedeutung—, warum er IW. 1635 nicht in die Belege für "seelischen Schmerz" einreicht, folgendermassen:

1635 habe ich unter den Belegen für "Beleidigung" aufgeführt, weil es sich hier um das *leit* handelt, das der Laudine durch Tötung des Gatten angetan worden ist; aber man könnte im Hinblick auf 1639 auch hier schon an die Bedeutung Schmerz denken.

Wie das "hier schon" des letzten Satzes andeutet, sieht Maurer die Bedeutung "Schmerz" als sekundäre Entwicklung an. Er findet die "Grundbedeutung" des Wortes *leit* im Nibelungenlied als "Beleidigung und Verunehrung." Dies ist für ihn die vorchrist

² Karl Reuning, *Joy and Freude. A Comparative Study of the Linguistic Field of Pleasurable Emotions in English and German*, (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1941).

liche Bedeutung des Wortes, die er dann, nachdem er auch in Hartmanns Werken "die alte *leit*-Auffassung" "noch" lebendig sieht, im 4. Kapitel zu beweisen sucht. Im Nibelungenlied finden sich allerdings viele Belege, in denen "Kränkung" die Hauptbedeutung des Wortes ist. Neben den zahlreichen Stellen aber, in denen Maurer selbst die Bedeutung "Sorge" und "Schmerz" ansetzt (S. 24), stehen viele in seiner Rubrik "angetanes Unrecht, Beleidigung, Entehrung," wo der Schmerz vom Verfasser gewaltsam herausinterpretiert wird, ohne andere Bedeutungsnuancen und die Assoziationen, die oft aus dem ganzen Zusammenhang klar werden (Synonyme, Gegensätze wie *liep*, *vreude* usw.) genügend zu berücksichtigen. Unter "Angetanes Unrecht, Beleidigung, Entehrung" bringt Maurer (S. 27) Dietrichs Worte an Gunther, NIB. 2330,4: "*nu habet ir mir erbunnen aller miner man. jane het ich iuch helden sölher leide niht getan*," und 2336,3 "*ergetze mich der leide di mir von dir sint geschehen, und süene iz*." Wie die beiden Belege hier stehen, könnte man daraus "Kränkung der Ehre" lesen. Dass das *leit* Dietrichs (wie das der Burgunden) aber *mehr* ist und seelisch tiefer geht, dass es *auch* Ausdruck ist für den Schmerz um Freund und Verwandten, das Gegenteil von "freude," zeigen die zwischen beiden Zitaten liegenden Strophen 2331/32.

Wenn man auch daran denken dürfte, dass durch den Tod seiner Mannen eine Herabminderung seines eigenen Ansehens liegen könnte, so gilt das offenbar nicht für den Mutterschmerz der Gotelind (NIB. 1699,2 findet sich in der gleichen Bedeutungsgruppe, S. 27): Hagen bittet Gotelind um den Schild ihres toten Sohnes;

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1699 | Do diu maregravinne | Hagenen rede vernam, |
| | ez mande si ir leide; | weinen si gezam. |
| | do gedahte si vil tiure | an Nuodunges tot. |
| | den het erslagen Witege: | da von so het si jamers not. |
| 1700 | Si sprach zuo dem degene | 'den schilt wil ich iu geben |
| | daz wolde got von himele, | daz er noch solde leben, |
| | der in da truoc enhende! | der lag im sturme tot. |
| | den muoz ich immer weinen: | des gat mir armen wfbe not. |

Der Begriff der Ehre spielt hier doch gar keine Rolle, *weinen* und *jâmer* sind die charakteristischen Worte, die es uns ermöglichen zum Bedeutungsinhalte von *leit* vorzudringen. Welche Gewaltbarkeit nötig ist, solch offensichtliche Zeugen für die Bedeutung "Schmerz" aus dem Wege zu räumen, zeigt Maurers Behandlung von NIB. 2257: Als Dietrichs Mannen von Rüedegers Tod hören,

do klageten in die recken: ir triuwe in daz gebot.
 den Dietriches recken sach man trähene gan
 über berte und über kinne: in was vil leide getan.

Dies *in was vil leide getan* "muss" nach Maurer übersetzt werden als 'ihnen war schwere Beleidigung zugefügt worden,' denn

Das Weinen, das gelegentlich über das Leid geschieht, ist nur für uns ein Zeichen des Schmerzes und nur für uns als Weinen über die Ehrverletzung merkwürdig. Die Recken, die oft bei seelischen Erregungen in Tränen ausbrechen, weinen bei besonders schwerer Beleidigung, dass sie aus Schmerz weinen, wäre kaum zu begreifen.

Dokumentiert wird diese Behauptung nicht. Man sollte doch erwarten, dass die älteren germanischen Quellen ein ähnliches Bild bieten, aber Maurer zeigt nicht, dass ein solches Verhalten der Recken alt ist. Statt Theorien über den germanischen Menschen vorzubringen, sollte man die isländische Saga sprechen lassen!

Jeder wird wohl Maurer darin zustimmen, dass das "Leid der Kriemhild *nicht nur* (von mir kursiv) als Trauer um Siegfried verstanden werden kann" (S. 11), aber wie in seinen Bedeutungsdefinitionen geht er auch in der Interpretation der Dichtung zu weit, wenn er zu dem Schluss kommt:

Tatsache bleibt, dass die Darstellung ihres Leides (das bedeutet ihrer Entehrung) insofern konsequent durchgeführt wird, als es bis zum Ende um die Herstellung dieser Ehre geht. (S. 16)

Leid und Ehre sind die beiden tragenden Ideen, und sie sind es als Gegensätze. Um Ehre und um Unehre, Beleidigung und um Rache um angetanes Leid geht es in diesem Liede." (S. 22)

Spricht denn nicht noch aus Kriemhilds letzten Worten, NIB. 2372 ihre unvermindert starke Liebe und Trauer um den Geliebten ihrer Jugend?

Was in der Bedeutungsgeschichte von *leit* ganz in der Luft hängt, ist die Chronologie. Die "Grundbedeutung" des Wortes im Nibelungenlied, "Beleidigung, Entehrung," setzt Maurer als die alte, vorchristliche Bedeutung an, ohne jedoch stichhaltige Beweise aus dem Althochdeutschen oder den anderen germanischen Sprachen zu bringen. Seine Behandlung der Frühzeit kann schon deshalb den Wortforscher nicht befriedigen, als er sich hier, im Gegensatz zu seiner sorgfältigen Bearbeitung der mhd. Quellen, nur auf die Definitionen der Wörterbücher und Glossensammlungen der Zeit stützt. Die modernen lexikographischen Definitionen "injuria,

offensa" können dem Bedeutungsforscher ebensowenig nützen, wie die alten Lemmata "injuria, execratio, vulnera, scandalum," die Maurer als Stütze seiner Theorie anführt, oder die Bemerkung, dass dem Worte *dolor*, fünfmal von Notker mit *leit* übersetzt, "ja auch im Lateinischen der Sinn der Kränkung nicht fehlt." Der Verfasser gibt zu, dass die Mehrzahl der ahd. Belege die Bedeutung "Schmerz, Betrübnis" haben, schwächt dieses Zeugnis aber ab, indem er auf die Tatsache hinweist, dass unsere Quellen religiöser Art sind. Es ist mir unerfindlich, wie man von diesem Bestande zu der Ansicht kommen kann, dass "Beleidigung," eine Bedeutung, die hier und da durchschimmert, die alte Hauptbedeutung ist.³

Während das ahd. Material auch nach Maurers eigenem Zugeständnis nicht ausreicht, seine These zu stützen, scheint eine as. Stelle auf den ersten Blick schwer ins Gewicht zu fallen, aber nur, solange man sie nicht im weiteren Zusammenhange liest. Maurer sagt (S. 74 f.):

[Heliand] 5026 erscheint *led* in Parallele zu *honlico*. Man muss hier geradezu mit "Schande" übersetzen; mit "Böses," wie es Sehrt will, scheint mir der Sinn nicht voll getroffen. Hier wo es sich um das Erlebnis des Petrus bei der Verleugnung handelt, ist etwas vom Sinn des Entehrenden in dem Wort enthalten. Der Dichter erörtert bekanntlich ziemlich breit diesen Vorgang, und er stellt auch die Frage, warum Gott es zugelassen hat: *that so lioben man led gistodi / that he so honlico herron sines / . . . forlognide* (5025 f.).

Diesen Versen geht nun aber eine Beschreibung von Petrus' Leid voraus (4993 f.), in der es heisst:

Tho uuard imu an innan san, / Simon Petruse ser an mode, / harm an is hertan endi is hugi drobi, / suido uuard imo an sorgun . . . thes thram imu

³ Was die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von *leid* angeht, so drückt sich Maurer an anderen Stellen vorsichtiger aus, z. B. S. 73: "Gesetzt, dass die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von *leid* "Böses, Widerwärtiges, Unangenehmes" wäre, so müsste man folgern, dass die Zeit, in der Ehre durch Antun von Bösem verletzt wurde, dem Wort den Inhalt des Beleidigenden, Schändenden, Entehrenden gegeben hat. Tatsächlich entspricht das der Ehrauffassung der germanischen Heldendichtung . . .," oder S. 74: "Mag es so sein, dass zur Zeit der Aufnahme des Christentums neben dem Sinn des Entehrenden dem Worte auch noch die ältere allgemeine Bedeutung des Bösen, Widerwärtigen eignete; oder mag nun erst unter dem Einfluss christlicher Gedanken das, was wider die Ehre ist, als böse in einem weiteren und tieferen Sinne aufgefasst worden sein. . . ."

an innan mod / bittro an is breostun, endi geng imu tho gibolgan thanen /
 . . . an modkaru, / suido an sorgun, endi is selbes uuord, / uuamscefti
 uueop / antat imu uuallan quamun / thurh thea hertcara hete trahni, /
 blodaga fan is breostun . . . so gornode gumono bezta, / hrau imo so hardo,
 that he habde is herron tho / leobes farlognid.

Wenn nun in unmittelbarer Folge von *sorga*, *harm*, *modkara* usw. auch *led* gebraucht wird, darf man es dann mit "Schande" übersetzen, bloss weil ein *honlico* darauf folgt? Man darf diese Bedeutung umsoweniger als bewiesen betrachten, als die Verbindung mit *gistandan* deutlich darauf hinzuweisen scheint, dass *led* hier nichts anderes bedeutet als *harm*, *sorga*: Die Zusammenstellung bei Sehart bietet eine Anzahl von Belegen, wie "Tho gifragn ic that iru thar sorga gistod" (Trauer über den Tod des Mannes, 510), oder: "that iru uuari harm gistanden, / soroga at iru selbaru dohter" (2987 f.). *Gistandan* im Sinne von 'zuteilwerden, widerfahren' wird im Heliand überhaupt nur von starken Gefühlsregungen gebraucht; neben Beispielen für "Schmerz" bringt das Sehart'sche Glossar solche für "Freude" (*willeo*; z. B. "hugi uuard iro te frobra, / thes uuibes an uunneon, huand iro thar sulic uuilleo gistuod."), während eine Verbindung von *gistandan* mit Ausdrücken wie "Schande" nicht belegt ist.

Bei dem Versuch, das Weiterleben dieser "vorchristlichen" Bedeutung aufzuzeigen, bringt Maurer immer wieder den Ehrbegriff in das *leit* hinein, wo der Text ihn nicht dazu berechtigt. Im Nibelungenlied darf man doch wenigstens als Tatsache gelten lassen, dass "Kränkung" in unzähligen Belegen mitklingt, dass "Ehre" eine nicht zu übersehende Konsoziation von *leit* ist. Bei der Definition von *leit* in den anderen Dichtungen aber, setzt er sich, im Banne seiner vorgefassten Idee, nur zu oft über die sprachlichen Gegebenheiten völlig hinweg. Wiener Genesis 935

duo sprach er deme wibe manech leit, er sprach sarfere worte, svenne si
 svanger wurte, é si gebare, daz der sere vile ware, dei si ane ire libe, emzege
 muose liden

wird interpretiert: "Gott 'spricht' also dem Weibe "Leid," d. h. er nimmt ihm die Ehre . . ." (S. 79). Wenn man das ganze Zitat liest (Maurer lässt "svenne si svanger wurte, é si gebare" aus), so stellen sich obige Verse als Übersetzung von Gen. 3, 16 dar: "Und zum Weibe sprach er: ich will dir viel Schmerzen (manech leit) schaffen, wenn du schwanger wirst; du sollst mit

Schmerzen Kinder gebären." Dass Eva vorher sagt (662): "alle dise ere, gab uns got der herre" stützt Maurers Deutung nicht, denn *ere* bedeutet hier wohl eher "Herrlichkeit" (vgl. *erlich* 692, "herrlich") und ist identisch mit *himmeliske wunne* (625), eine Bedeutung von *ere*, die im Mhd. nicht selten ist und die Maurer auch sonst nicht berücksichtigt. Ähnlich wie in diesem Beispiel lässt der Verfasser (S. 57) auch in der Besprechung des Iwein beim Zitieren einen Vers aus, der von Belang ist für das rechte Verständnis von Iweins Leid (*herzeleit*). Im Erec kann ich nur in dem *leit* der Eingangsszene (Geisselschlag) die Bedeutung "Beleidigung" finden, bei seinen übrigen Beispielen lässt der Verfasser wieder das Zeugnis wichtiger Kennwörter wie *vröude*, *liep*, *truren*, usw. ausser acht. Ein Beispiel aus dem Parzival möge zeigen, wie Maurer die charakteristischen Worte *liep*, *fröude* gewaltsam umdeutet, um die gewünschte Bedeutung "Entehrung" zu erlangen. S. 198 sagt er:

Die Verbindung (des Wortes *leit*) mit *liep* oder *fröude* als Gegensatz ist häufig. Da aber zugleich *fröude* in Verbindung mit *ere* tritt, ist eine enge Verbindung von *leit*—*ere*—*fröude* gegeben. Der doppelte Gegensatz von *leit*, nämlich *ere* und *wünne* erscheint. Hier wird deutlich, dass das Gegenüber *leit*—*liep* mehr enthält als Gedanken an "Freud und Leid." 136, 7 wird *vröude enteren* für "Leid antun" gebraucht; *groz lieb und krankes leit* 270, 26 schliesset den Gegensatz Freude-Ehre mit ein; vgl. 270,27-30; ähnlich 258,7; 560, 10 f. und 690,30 (lies: 689); 625,8.

Nachdem er "festgestellt" hat, dass *liep* und *fröude* auch "Ehre" bedeuten, benutzt er dann diese Erkenntnis für seine Erklärung von Jeschutens *leit*, ein Wort, das er als "Beleidigung, Schande" auffasst (S. 199):

froun Jeschute leit 137, 30 wird später 139, 22 mit *unreht* identifiziert; es wird schliesslich (459, 28) *ze liebe gekeret* (vgl. das oben über *leit*—*liep* Gesagte!).

Lassen wir aber den Text 137, 20 ff. sprechen, so zeigt sich, dass *leit* hier alles andere ist als "Beleidigung," es ist seelisches Leiden, ja Mitleiden. Ausser den Kennwörtern *weinen*, *jamer*, *trureclliche*, *hoher kummer* ist wichtig, dass der Dichter ausdrücklich sagt, dass ihr Leiden ihrer *triuwe* entspringt, nicht der grausamen Behandlung durch Orilus zuzuschreiben ist: "sine müete niht, swaz ir geschach, wan ir mannes ungemach." Also ist es auch falsch zu sagen, dass dies *leit* später identifiziert wird mit *unreht*, denn

“mer danne ein ganzez jar si meit gruoze von ir mannes libe. unrehte geschach dem wibe” (139, 20 f.) bezieht sich ja eben auf die Behandlung durch Orilus. Und deutlicher als 459, 28 kann der Dichter nicht ausdrücken, dass dies *leit* tiefster Schmerz ist, Gegenpol des Hochgefühls der Freude.

Es ist ein Verdienst Maurers, dass er die von den Wörterbüchern übersehene Bedeutung “Kränkung” im Mhd. nachgewiesen hat. Sein Versuch aber, dies als die alte Hauptbedeutung zu erweisen, ist nicht überzeugend. Zweifelsohne ist “Ehrverletzung” eine sehr häufige Nebenbedeutung von *leit*. Ebenso wie er diese nur zu oft als die Hauptbedeutung auffasst und dabei wichtige Assoziationen und Gefühlstöne ausser acht lässt, so übersieht er auch die Tatsache, dass “Kränkung” zu *jeder Zeit* eine wichtige Nebenbedeutung des Wortes sein kann, ohne dass man dafür das germanische Ehrgefühl verantwortlich machen darf, und weiter, dass z. B. die Begriffe “Kränkung” und “Schmerz” auch in christlichen Quellen oft einander so nahe benachbart sind, dass es unberechtigt ist, in diesem Punkt zwischen der germanischen und biblischen Auffassung einen scharfen Gegensatz zu sehen. Dass bei *leit* der Ehrbegriff häufiger hereinspielt als bei den anderen Wörtern, hängt wohl damit zusammen, dass das Wort nicht nur Ausdruck ist für ein Gefühl, sondern auch Bezeichnung der schmerzbringenden Tat selbst. *Leit* hat diese doppelte Funktion z. B. mit germ. *harm* gemeinsam. Der Wortforscher sollte aber sauber zwischen den beiden Funktionen des Wortes unterscheiden, in der einen Funktion gehört es in das Wortfeld der unliebsamen Gefühle, in der anderen nicht. Auch dass “Rache” im Zusammenhang mit “Leid” auftritt, sagt an sich nichts über den Bedeutungsinhalt des letzteren aus. Verlust des Verwandten ist zugleich Verletzung der Sippenehre. Wie sich dem Menschen der frühen Zeit dann sofort der Gedanke der Rache aufdrängt, zeigt z. B. Egill, als er, innerlich gebrochen, vom Schmerz (*harm*) um den ertrunkenen Sohn, im Sonatorrek klagt, dass er nicht mit dem Schwerte Rache nehmen könne am Meeresgott, der die unausfüllbare Lücke in seine Sippe geschlagen. Ebensowenig wie man hier den Schmerz des väterlichen Herzens als “Entehrung” auffassen darf und *harm* der Saga mit “Beleidigung” übersetzen, kann man das Leid der Kriemhild oder Laudine (IW. 1635, s. o.) auf diese Bedeutung einengen, nur weil den beiden Frauen durch den Tod ihrer Männer auch die Ehre verletzt worden ist, oder weil für das Leid Rache genommen wird.

Auch fürs Ahd. müssen wir nach wie vor "Widerwärtiges, Schmerz, Betrübnis" als Hauptbedeutung gelten lassen, und, um einen Blick ins Literarhistorische zu werfen, auch nach der Lektüre dieses Buches, scheint mir Schwieterings von Maurer angefochtene Bemerkung "die folgenden 13 Jahre sind eine einzige Trauer, ein einziges Gedenken an Siegfried" noch mit Recht zu bestehen.⁴

Die Berechtigung für eine so ins Einzelne gehende Besprechung des Maurerschen Buches liegt nicht so sehr in der Notwendigkeit einer Zurückweisung seiner oft anfechtbaren Ergebnisse als solcher, sondern in dem Ernstnehmen seiner Forderung, dass auch in der Besprechung literarischer und kultureller Fragen der Sprachforscher das Recht hat, seine Stimme geltend zu machen. Aber wir dürfen nicht übersehen, dass er sich dieses Recht erhalten muss, indem er im Ganzen und in den Einzelheiten es streng vermeidet, den Wert seines Tatsachenmaterials durch gewagte und gelegentlich willkürliche Interpretationen zu beeinträchtigen.

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FELD — FJELL

Die Etymologie des nordischen Wortes *fjell* (dän. *fjell*, schwed. *fjäl*, anord. *fjall*) hat bis jetzt Schwierigkeiten verursacht. Lautgesetzlich nämlich könnte das Wort mit hd. *Feld* verwandt sein und wie dieses von einer Wurzel **pł* > **pela* plus *t*-suffix herkommen (Walde-Pokorny, S. 61). Das Problem aber ist die Bedeutung: *Fjell* = *Gebirge*, *Fels*, während *Feld* zu anord. *fold* = *Erde*, d. h. flaches Land, gehört. Deshalb verwerfen Falk-Torp (S. 161) die Verwandtschaft von *Feld* und *fjell* und schreiben:

Lydlig kunde fjeld ogsaa vaere opstaaet af germ. **felpa*, dog passer betydningen mindre godt. Man maatte da udgaa fra en grundbetydning "höjslette."

Trübner (S. 317) bestätigt dies:

Anord. *fjall* = *Gebirge*, fasst man der Bedeutung wegen besser nicht als "felpa" auf, sondern stellt es als "Felz" zu "Fels."

⁴ Vgl. auch NIB. 1142: "Nach Sifrides tote, daz ist alwar, / si wonde in manigem sere driuzehen jar, / daz si des recken todes vergezzen kunde niht. / si was im getriuwe: des ir diu meiste menige giht.

Man leitet also *fjell* und hd. *Fels* von der gleichen Wurzel ab und erhält dann: *p_l (gr. *pella*) > *pela > *felpa > Feld; und *pels (aind. *pāsyā*) > *felza, *fjell* einerseits, > *falisa, ahd. *felis*, nhd. *Fels* anderseits.

Nun kennt die Bergwerkssprache aber ein Wort *Feld*, das der Bedeutung nach seit dem 16. Jahrhundert fälschlich mit dem Worte *Feld* der Umgangssprache identifiziert worden ist. Ulrich Rühlein von Kalbe schreibt in seinem ungefähr 1500 erschienenen *Bergbüchlein* (S. 21):

Auch syndt etzliche genck die ire streichen haben in flachem feld, dar von genandt wird dz feldgepeud.

Er will also *Feld* mit *Fläche* gleichstellen und diese Auffassung hat sich bis heute kaum geändert.

Ein Feld des Bergwerks aber muss nicht unbedingt flach sein. Adelung (S. 89) erklärt: "Feld — der Teil eines *Gebirges*, welcher gebaut wird." Veith, *Deutsches Bergwörterbuch* (1870) deutet *Feld* als *Gebirge*; *flaches Feld* als "Gebirge mit flachem Gehänge, sanft ansteigendes Gebirge." Schliesslich spricht auch Jelineks *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (1911), S. 799 mit der Uebersetzung von *Veldbauer* in *Bergmann* dafür, dass das Bergwerkswort *Feld* sich in seiner Bedeutung völlig von dem Worte der allgemeinen Sprache differenziert hat. Lautgesetzlich aber sind beide identisch und müssen von der selben Grundform *felpa < *pela hergeleitet werden. Dann ist aber kein Grund mehr vorhanden, *fjell* auszuscheiden; das Wort, identisch mit hd. *Feld* = Gebirge, wird vielmehr ebenso von *felpa < *pela herkommen. Die Bedeutungsentwicklung der Wurzel *p_l verläuft also in zwei Richtungen: flach und hoch.

Diese Auffassung wird gestützt von den Ableitungen mit *n*-Suffix, welche dasselbe Bild zeigen wie die mit *t*-Suffix: čech. *planý* bedeutet *Feld*, abg. *planine* = *Berg*.

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THE IDENTIFICATION OF PROVERBS IN GOETHE

As Seiler points out in his *Sprichwörterkunde*,¹ poets frequently like to call attention to the adages they weave into the fabric of their artistic compositions. To lend credence to a proverb they adduce, they may draw on any one of a considerable number of traditional word patterns that attest to sagacity, venerability, veracity, or popularity.

Expressly or by implication, Goethe himself identifies nearly ten score of the many sayings distributed throughout his literary and scientific works, his diaries and his letters, or recorded in his "conversations." About half of these are grouped with the maxims in "Eigenes und Angeeignetes in Sprüchen" and the commonplaces in "Sprichwörtlich,"² admittedly "nicht alle in Sachsen, noch auf eigenem Mist gewachsen."³ Quotation marks single out five bywords,⁴ whereas introductory formulae account for the rest.

The currency of most of Goethe's prefatory locutions, some sixty variants in all, is pretty well established. A good many of them correspond to gnomie idioms in Schulze's collection of "Einführungsformeln" popular in Old and Middle High German times.⁵ Among them are: *wie man spricht* (WA, 1. Abt., XIV, 15, 212), *man sagt* (WA, 1. Abt., I, 298, 22),⁶ *man sagt immer* (Bi, II, 600), *man sagt mit Recht* (WA, 1. Abt., XXVIII, 210, 25 f.), *sie sagen* (WA, 1. Abt., LI, 87, 2), *sie sagen hier* (WA, 1. Abt., XXXI, 23, 9),

¹ Cf. Friedrich Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde*, München, Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922, pp. 48 f.

² Cf. J. Alan Pfeffer, *The Proverb in Goethe*, New York, King's Crown Press, 1948, pp. 193 f.

³ Cf. the Weimar edition of *Goethes Werke* (hereafter WA), 1. Abt., II, 251, 628 f.

⁴ Cf. WA, 1. Abt., III, 306, 1091 f.; XLII, 2, 152, 15 f.; XLII, 2, 170, 1 f.; LIII, 26, 1 f.; 4. Abt., XLVII, 266, 21.

⁵ Cf. Carl Schulze, "Ausdrücke für Sprichwort," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, VIII, 376-384.

⁶ Cf. also WA, 1. Abt., XXIV, 273, 8 f.; XXV, 2, 60, vii, 1 f.; XLIII, 209, 10; 2. Abt., XI, 140, 15; 4. Abt., XXXI, 120, 1; XLII, 2, 122, 9; XLVII, 27, 12; and *Goethes Gespräche* neu herausgegeben von Flodoard Freiherr von Biedermann, 1909-1911, 4 Bände (hereafter Bi), I, 474. Note moreover: *der Grieche sagt* (WA, 4. Abt., XXIII, 228, 26), *Epiktet sagt* (WA, 2. Abt., VI, 283, 12), *Ovid sagt* (WA, 1. Abt., XXXVII, 90, 21).

der *Spruch* (WA, 1. Abt., XVIII, 21, 13), *der alte (wahre, neapolitanische) Spruch* (WA, 1. Abt., XLVII, 13, 26),⁷ *alt ist das Wort* (WA, 1. Abt., xv, 1, 186, 8754), *das alte (altdutsche, bedeutende, edle, evangelische, gewagte) Wort* (WA, 1. Abt., xv, 1, 239, 9939),⁸ *das alte gute Wort* (WA, 4. Abt., XL, 213, 8), *des alten Wortes gedenk* (WA, 4. Abt., XLII, 2, 227, 14), *dies Wort hat nicht gelogen* (WA, 1. Abt., II, 215, 5),⁹ *der alte sprichwörtliche Rat* (WA, 4. Abt., XVI, 193, 10).

An even greater array of Goethean terms parallels distinguishing figures of speech favored in the days of Murner,¹⁰ Sachs,¹¹ Fischart,¹² and Grimmelshausen,¹³ as: *man hat schon längst gesagt* (WA, 4. Abt., XXXI, 1 f., 17 f.), *die Alten pflegten schon zu sagen* (WA, 1. Abt., XXIV, 215, 13 f.), *man pflegt zu sagen* (WA, 2. Abt., III, 247, 20; III, 274, 3), *wie man zu sagen pflegt* (WA, 4. Abt. XIV, 170, 8 f.), *wie gesagt*,¹⁴ *hier gilt* (WA, 4. Abt., XXXIII, 265, 19), *es heißt* (WA, 2. Abt., XI, 283, 15), *steht doch* (WA, 1. Abt., XXXIV, 1, 25, 22), *es steht geschrieben* (WA, 4. Abt., XII, 121, 12), *das Sprichwort* (WA, 1. Abt., XLV, 138, 23; 4. Abt., I, 144, 11; XII, 356, 19), *das alte (lateinische, holländische, orientalische, probate) Sprichwort* (WA, 4. Abt., XXVII, 165, 13),¹⁵ *das alte deutsche Sprichwort* (WA, 1. Abt., LIII, 384, # 85, 14), *der edle Grieche sagt im Sprichwort* (WA, 1. Abt., XX, 190, 12 f.), *nach dem Sprichworte* (WA, 2. Abt., XIII, 188, 6), *nach dem gemeinen (alten italienischen) Sprichworte* (WA, 4. Abt., XXIII, 200, 21; XXXIII, 253,

⁷ Cf. also WA, 4. Abt., XXVI, 96, 4; XXVII, 5 f., 1 f.; XLIII, 72, 2.

⁸ Cf. also WA, 1. Abt., XXVII, 276, 4 f.; XXIX, 8, 25; XXXII, 25, 17 f.; XLII, 2, 189, 21; XLV, 172, 9; 4. Abt., XLV, 251, 10 f.

⁹ Note moreover: *das alte Philister-Wort* (WA, 4. Abt., XLIX, 38, 1).

¹⁰ Anna Risse, "Sprichwörter und Redensarten bei Thomas Murner," *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, XXXI, 215-227, 289-303, 359-369, 450-458.

¹¹ Charles Hart Handschin, *Das Sprichwort bei Hans Sachs*, Madison, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 103, 1904.

¹² John F. Sullivan, *Das Sprichwort bei Johann Fischart*, New York University Dissertation, 1936.

¹³ Martha Lenschau, *Grimmelshausens Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, "Deutsche Forschungen," x, Frankfurt a. Main, 1924.

¹⁴ *Johann Peter Eckermanns Gespräche mit Goethe* herausgegeben von H. H.ouben, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1935, p. 591.

¹⁵ Cf. also WA, 1. Abt., XXXII, 450, # 24, 13; XXXIV, 1, 295, 1; LI, 136, 27 f.; 3. Abt., II, 112, 10; 4. Abt., XX, 50, 14 f.; XXVI, 195, 27.

11 f.), *wie das (alte) Sprichwort sagt* (WA, 1. Abt., XLV, 13, 10; 2. Abt., VIII, 35, 23 f.), *es ist schon zum Sprichworte geworden* (WA, 3. Abt., III, 262, 14).

Only a few of the sixty odd expressions appear to be of lesser known, more recent, perhaps Goethean vintage. They include: *der allgemeine Satz* (WA, 2. Abt., III, 113, 8), *das gutmütige altfranzösische Reimwort* (WA, 1. Abt., XXIX, 29, 5 f.), *das Lust- und Leibwort* (WA, 1. Abt., XXVIII, 68 f., 27 ff.), *die alte Rede* (WA, 4. Abt., XXXII, 60, 27), *die alte (schriftstellerische) Wahrheit* (WA, 2. Abt., VI, 133, 2; 4. Abt., XLVI, 88, 15), *die alte ionische Schule* (WA, 2. Abt., I, xxxi, 14 f.), *die hohe Staatsmaxime* (WA, 4. Abt., XLV, 272, 12), *die Vorschrift des heiligen Apostels* (WA, 1. Abt., XXXIV, 1, 27, 9), *die Bauernregel* (WA, 1. Abt., XXXIV, 1, 34 f., 9 ff.), and *die sprichwörtliche Wetterprophezeiung* (WA, 1. Abt., XXXIV, 1, 34 f., 9 ff.). Several formulae, e. g., *wie es sonst heißt* (WA, 2. Abt., XI, 46, 6), *das italienische Sprichwort* (WA, 1. Abt., XXXII, 449, # 24, 2), *die Griechen haben ein Sprichwort* (WA, 4. Abt., XII, 194, 1 f.), *wie man im Sprichworte sagt* (WA, 2. Abt., III, 235, 5), *nach dem Waidpruch* (WA, 2. Abt., III, 231, 19 f.), *der Weisheitsspruch* (WA, 4. Abt., XLVII, 12, 1 f.), *der altklassische Grundsatz* (WA, 4. Abt., XXVI, ad 7279), and *die alte Erfahrung* (WA, 1. Abt., XVIII, 109, 4), preface proverbial sayings, that is, incomplete proverbs, or unidentified truisms.

In the manner of Grimmelshausen, Fischart, and other poets before him, Goethe repeats *man sagt*, *man pflegt zu sagen*, *Spruchwort*, and *Spruch*. But unlike his predecessors, he so varies the introductions to the proverbs he cites that almost no two phrases appear to be the same, despite the months and years that separate the origin of many of them. To paraphrase an old saw: even in the fashioning of homespun patterns the great artist will out.

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ARLEQUIN SAUVAGE AND EL SALVAJE AMERICANO

While conducting research on American themes in XVIIIth century Spanish drama, we found a reference in Gayangos to a manuscript entitled *El salvaje americano*.¹ It appears listed as a late XVIIIth century play written by Bázquez. There was no first name. Nor does the microfilm of the manuscript shed any light on the possible identity of the author.

The manuscript convinced us, at first, that we had found a perfect example in XVIIIth century Spanish literature of an author who criticized European civilization through the medium of a "good" savage. But the plot, the situations to which the Indian is exposed and his satirical comments on the social, political and economic structure of Spain were, we thought, similar to *Arlequin sauvage*.² A comparison revealed that Bázquez had merely translated the French play and had adapted it slightly. The *Arlequin* is in three acts and written in prose. The Spanish version is a one act play in verse. Delisle's characters bear Italian names while those of *El salvaje* bear Spanish names. The setting of the *Arlequin* is in Marseille, that of *El salvaje* is in Granada. Here the differences end. The similarities, even to the slightest detail, can be appreciated by comparing the Spanish text to the French. There is no mention, however, that *El salvaje americano* is a translation or even an adaptation.

It would be foolhardy to venture an opinion as to the possible influence of *El salvaje americano*. We have found no information concerning its author nor whether it was ever played before a Spanish audience.³ The only inference that might be drawn is that the "good" savage theme as it appears in the works of Meléndez Valdés and Quintana must have awakened enough interest to warrant the translation.

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¹ MS, British Museum. Cf. Pascual Gayangos, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Spanish language in the British Museum*, London, 1875, IV, p. 304.

² François de la Drevetière Delisle, *Arlequin sauvage*, Paris, Briasson, 1721.

³ Ada Coe, *Catálogo bibliográfico y crítico de las comedias anunciadas en los periódicos de Madrid desde 1661 hasta 1819*, Baltimore, 1935.

THE OLD ITALIAN *RITMO CASSINESE*, STANZA 2

The first line of the second stanza of the *Ritmo Cassinese* has been much discussed.¹ The line as it stands reads:

Et eo sence abbengo culpa jactio.

The objections made to it are, first, that it is too long, and second, that the sense does not seem to fit very well with that of the line immediately following.

The first objection may seem slight, considering the evident metrical irregularity of the poem. Emilio Vuolo, following De Bartholomaeis, describes the metrical scheme as "una stanza di ottonari monorimi . . . e una represa di endecasillabi anch' essi monorimi."² This definition is, of course, given as approximate. There are some lines with seven syllables, many with nine, and two or three with ten occurring in the supposedly octosyllabic parts of the stanzas. The length of this line, therefore, should arouse only a slight suspicion that something might be wrong with it.

The second difficulty is more serious. The line immediately following reads:

por vebe luminaria factio.

Taken together, these two lines appear to mean "And I, if here I happen to lie in sin, provide enlightenment for you." This makes sense only if *se* means "even if," and in order to facilitate this reading many editors change *abbengo* to *abbenga*. The difficulty is that *abbenga* by itself gives the sense "even if I happen . . ." and the *se* becomes unnecessary.

Vuolo is led by the general intractability of this line to suppose that it represents two original lines which have been written as one, with the ending of the first line omitted by the scribe. I would like to suggest that, if this is the case, the missing rhyme word might be *taccio*. We would then have:

Et eo se 'nce taccio
Abbengo 'n culpa jactio,

¹ A summary may be found in the article by E. P. Vuolo, *Cultura Neolatina*, VI-VII, 1946-47, p. 39.

² *Ibid.*

with the meaning "And if I am silent here, I will be to blame." The change from *abbengo* to *abbenga* would no longer be necessary. The following line,

por vebe luminaria factio,

would begin a new sentence. Admittedly the first line would be somewhat short, and one might have to assume that something else had been omitted. Perhaps one could suppose *me taccio*.

The meaning thus arrived at seems to me to follow more naturally on the ideas expressed in the first stanza, in which the author says that he will light a candle to show others the way. This, as has already been pointed out, is obviously derived from the Sermon on the Mount:

Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

The idea "I will do this, even though I myself am a sinner," although a proper Christian sentiment, is certainly not to be found here, where the emphasis is on "good works" rather than sins. On the other hand, the idea that those who do not light their candles will be to blame is implicit.³ Furthermore, the development of this motif in the direction "otherwise I shall be blamed" is very frequent in medieval poetry.⁴

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THE DOCUMENTARY BACKGROUND OF BALZAC'S *LES CHOUANS*

The oral information concerning *la chouannerie* which Honoré de Balzac gathered during his stay with general Pommereul and family at Fougères, Bretagne, in the fall of 1828¹ is known to have

³ In fact when thinking of this passage we usually condense it into the negative injunction "Do not hide your light under a bushel."

⁴ Cf. the examples given in E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern, 1948, pp. 95-6.

¹ The author's father, B.-F. Balzac, and perhaps Raisson, are mentioned as

been preceded by considerable reading on the same subject. This latter, as shown by bills from bookstores, included the following: *L'Histoire de la Guerre de la Vendée* par A. de Beauchamp (1809); *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution française* de Baudouin (1823),² and *la Guerre des Vendéens et des Chouans* par J. J. Savary (1824-1827).

A comparison of these with *les Chouans*³ shows that Balzac's indebtedness bears chiefly on the definition of the term *Chouan*, on the ferocity and general conduct of the war in the western provinces, and on the action of priests in inciting the peasants to revolt and battle.

For his explanation of *Chouan*, Balzac introduces a family of smugglers from whom the name was said to be derived:

Les frères Cottureau, hardis contrebandiers qui donnèrent leur nom à cette guerre, exerçaient leur périlleux métier de Laval à Fougères.⁴

Later,⁵ he tells how the term passed from this group to all the royalist soldiers of Bretagne. That with respect to a cry uttered by one of his characters, Marche-à-Terre:

—ce dernier se mit à siffler trois ou quatre fois de manière à produire le cri clair et perçant de la chouette. Les trois célèbres contrebandiers dont les noms ont déjà été cités employaient ainsi, pendant la nuit, certaines intonations de ce cri pour s'avertir des embuscades, de leurs dangers et de tout ce qui les intéressait. De là leur était venu le surnom de *chuin*, qui signifie chouette ou hibou dans le patois de ce pays. Ce mot corrompu servit à nommer ceux qui, dans la première guerre, imitèrent les allures et les signaux des trois frères.

These explanations coincide, except for slight details, with those furnished by Beauchamp, Savary, and Puisaye. The first writes:

Quatre frères, nommés Cottureau, contrebandiers à Saint-Ouen-des-Toits,

other possible oral sources. L.-J. Arrigon, *Les Débuts littéraires d'Honoré de Balzac*, Paris, 1924, p. 241.

² Of the four *Mémoires* concerning the western war in this collection, those of la marquise de la Rochejaquelein, of la marquise de Bonchamps, of Puisaye, and of la marquise de Sapinaud, the *Mémoires* of Puisaye had to be consulted in separate form, six tomes in seven volumes, London, 1803-1808, reprinting of 1824.

³ References are to the Albin Michel edition of this work.

⁴ *Les Chouans*, p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.

près Laval, avaient pris l'habitude de ne se montrer que la nuit, et de contrefaire le cri du *chat-huant* pour se reconnaître dans les bois, et pour éviter toute surprise. On ne les désignait même, avant la révolution, que sous le nom de *Chouans*, par corruption du mot *chat-huant*, que les paysans du Maine et de la Bretagne prononcent ainsi. Au commencement des troubles, ces intrépides contrebandiers se retirèrent dans la partie de la forêt du Pertre qui avoisine la Gravelle; là, se mêlant parmi les mécontents, ils se firent remarquer par leur force physique et leur audace. Jean Chouan⁶ l'un d'eux ne tarda pas à se signaler par un rare courage et une témérité réfléchie. Les insurgés de la forêt du Pertre en firent une espèce de chef dont ils prirent ou reçurent le nom. De là vint la dénomination de *Chouan*, que les républicains étendirent, en peu de temps, à tous les royalistes armés de la Bretagne.⁷

Savary follows Beauchamp in giving father Cottereau four sons, but furnishes a different explanation of the family nickname:

Le père Cottereau, suivant la tradition du pays, avait reçu d'un de ses voisins le surnom de *Chouan* (chat-huant) pour caractériser sa mine parfois triste et refrognée. Ses enfants, comme il est d'usage, avaient hérité de ce surnom.⁸

Puisaye agrees with Beauchamp regarding the origin of the nickname and—lest the reader regard the frères Cottereau as purely legendary—he adds:

La famille *Chouan* fut presque entièrement détruite en peu de temps. Un seul d'entre eux a survécu; il est couvert de blessures et est réduit à une extrême indigence depuis que j'ai été hors d'état de lui faire passer des secours.^{9, 10}

As for the warfare itself, Balzac's recital of horrors agrees in spirit with that in the works cited, even paling beside the vivid detail of the Bonchamps, La Rochejaquelein, and Sapinaud

⁶ Celebrated by Victor Hugo in his poem "Jean Chouan" in *La Légende des Siècles*.

⁷ Vol. 3, pp. 13, 14.

⁸ Vol. 2, p. 203.

⁹ Tome 2, pp. 269, 270.

¹⁰ Other works not known to have been read by Balzac furnish variations which possibly reflect oral tradition with which the young Honoré came in contact at Fougères. Turreau de Linières, L. M., *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre de la Vendée*, Paris, 1824, mentions the three Cottereau brothers, p. 13, as does Bournisseaux, P. V. J., *Histoire des Guerres de la Vendée et des Chouans, 1792-1815*, Paris, 1819, p. 20. Balzac's dialectal term *Chuins* takes the form of *Choins* with Turreau de Linières and of *Chouins* with Bournisseaux.

Mémoires. Concrete points of agreement are also not lacking. Thus the Chouan method of fighting from ambush¹¹ agrees with Beauchamp's description of an "attaque embusquée."¹² The quarreling intrigues of royalist leaders for personal gain from the king's cause¹³ find ample support in Puisaye's testimony about his companions in arms.¹⁴ Also Mademoiselle de Verneuil's intervention to save the life of the comte de Bauvan¹⁵ parallels the generosity of both general Bonchamps and of his wife in keeping republican prisoners from execution.¹⁶

In its general summing-up of *chouannerie* compared to the Vendean warfare, Balzac's statement, "—l'on peut dire avec assurance que, si la Vendée fit du brigandage une guerre, la Bretagne fit de la guerre un brigandage."¹⁷ follows Savary's remark, "Le nom *Chouan* eût été à cette époque, et serait peut-être aujourd'hui une injure grave pour le Vendéen."¹⁸

The violence, the horrors, marking this civil war went largely back to the incitement of royalist priests, in the opinion of some republican writers. Savary, for example, devotes a considerable share of his first volume to that subject, and Beauchamp treats it at length in his third volume. Balzac, taking such details as the basis for his writings, *personalizes* them in the figure of the abbé Gudin.

That ignorant, fanatical clergyman addresses a huge throng of peasants in a natural amphitheater. First he announces a miracle, the appearance of Sainte Anne d'Auray to him.¹⁹ This follows, with necessary adaptations of detail, Beauchamp's descriptions of alleged supernatural events which formed the basis of sermons by royalist preachers.

The abbé Gudin's saint, upon retiring, leaves behind her an odor of incense under the oak tree of Patte-d'Oie. Then the mother of a Chouan, vexed by a disease, is cured of her ailments at that same place. This agrees with Savary's detailed account of various wonders supposed to have taken place near oak trees in Chouan territory, the appearance of the Virgin, accompanied by the Christ-Child on at least one occasion, the religious processions which went to those supposedly holy trees, etc.²⁰

¹¹ *Les Chouans*, p. 40, with p. 301 for the term "égaillez-vous."

¹² Vol. 1, pp. 181-183.

¹⁷ *Les Chouans*, p. 22.

¹³ *Les Chouans*, p. 339 ff.

¹⁸ Vol. 1, p. 10.

¹⁴ Vol. 6, pp. 349, 350.

¹⁹ *Les Chouans*, p. 329.

¹⁵ *Les Chouans*, p. 305.

²⁰ Vol. 1, pp. 55-58.

¹⁶ Bonchamps *Mémoires*, pp. 57, 58.

Even the abbé's language finds sometimes a counterpart in Balzac's written sources. Thus when Gudin cries, "Abandonnez tout pour faire cette guerre. Vous serez comme les Macchabées,"²¹ Balzac doubtless had in mind Savary's quoted statement about the Chouans, "Ils étaient encouragés par certains ministres qui les mettaient dans la classe des Machabées et voulaient qu'après leur mort on les honorât comme martyrs,"²² as well as a Chouan bulletin cited by Savary, beginning, "Imitons donc l'exemple de *Judas Macchabée*—,"²³ and a remark by madame Sapinaud in regard to a Vendean mother condemned to die with her children, "Comme celle des Machabées, cette mère obtint de mourir la dernière."²⁴

In conclusion, let us notice two points. First, Balzac found no material in the works mentioned for the specific subject of *les Chouans*, the *chouannerie* following the peace of 1800. Puisaye writes of the earlier pre-1800 Chouan war, while the other authors devote their attention chiefly to the Vendean conflict. However, the many similarities between the earlier and the later phases of the western war furnish a sufficient excuse for Balzac's action.

A second fact presents more difficulty. The writer of *les Chouans* very largely neglects the royalist writings of mesdames Bonchamps, La Rochejaquelein, and Sapinaud, which quiver with drama and horror, in favor of mild historical accounts put out by such republicans as Beauchamp and Savary. How explain behavior so contrary to the principles of good authorship? Does it represent political bias in the young Balzac of 1828, 1829? That does not seem entirely impossible when we remember that on at least two other occasions, in composing *Sténie* and *Louis Lambert*, Balzac sacrificed to a god other than that of literature, namely philosophy. Might not politics have received once a similar indulgence? However, we must also recall that such *écarts* were very rare in the Balzacian practice of literary art. Almost always the author of the *Comédie Humaine* looked at social and political problems with an eye single to their emotional potential. Unfortunately, these considerations leave the problem still unsolved.

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²¹ *Les Chouans*, p. 330.

²² Vol. 1, p. 58.

²³ Vol. 1, p. 382.

²⁴ Sapinaud *Mémoires*, p. 121.

REVIEWS

Zinn und Zink. Studien zur abendländischen Wortgeschichte.
 Von HERMANN M. FLASDIECK. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer
 Verlag, 1952. Pp. xv + 180. DM. 24. (Buchreihe der
 Anglia, 2.)

This monograph is further indication of the industry and the learning that have marked the more than thirty years which Professor Flasdieck has devoted to scholarship. Its orderly arrangement and its detailed documentation are characteristic of the author, as may be seen in such a study as his recent "OE *Nefne*: a Revaluation," *Anglia*, LXIX (1950), 135-71. Here, he ventures into a field which is somewhat broader than the subject of his earlier researches and considers with exemplary thoroughness the names given in Western Europe over a stretch of many centuries to the metals tin and zinc. After a brief introduction he takes up the following in successive chapters: Latin *stagnum*, Vulgar Latin **piltrum*, Germanic **tina-*, German *Zink*, English *spelter*, Indo-European **sp(h)el-*, various Germanic-Romance words (such as Old English *spelter*, French *épeautre*, and German *Filz*), and Germanic **spel-/spal-*. There is a short concluding chapter followed by a list of the words discussed in the book. This last would surely be more useful if the entries had been arranged alphabetically from beginning to end rather than alphabetically under each of more than thirty linguistic heads. The student of language will find in this monograph no little to interest him, and to students of mining and metallurgy, as well as those concerned with the history and geography of trade-routes, occasional passages will be informative.

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Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group (Lund Studies in English, XVII). By CLAES SCHAAR. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1949. Pp. 337.

This work concerns the four signed poems of Cynewulf and also *Guthlac A*, *Guthlac B*, *Christ I*, *Christ III*, *Andreas*, *Dream of the Rood*, and *Phoenix*. Its three main chapters, which the author states are intended to supplement one another though they may be read independently, deal respectively with subject matter, texts—including textual criticism and interpretation, and style

and manner. These chapters include a going over of much that has been said about such matters as sources, authorship by Cynewulf, parallel passages, and ways of interpreting specific passages; this respect for what has previously been said is not always warranted but it has the merit of thoroughness and is combined with the author's own close familiarity with the poems concerned.

The chapter on subject matter goes over what is known of the sources of the eleven poems, gives a particularly clear analysis of the versions of the Andreas legend, and makes some deductions about the poems on the basis of their use of source material. It is maintained that the authors of *Christ I*, *Christ III*, *Guthlac A*, and *Phoenix* get their inspiration from foreign models only, while contrastingly the signed Cynewulf poems, *Andreas*, *Guthlac B*, and *Dream of the Rood* adhere to the vernacular tradition—a point of view arrived at by comparing the number of Anglosaxonisms (e. g. descriptions of battles, voyages, seas) in each poem. A pertinent point in regard to sources is the suggestion (pp. 30-31) that in *Juliana* the description of the temptation of the soul in terms of the siege of a city may owe something to Jerome's commentary on Epistle to Ephesians; and Schaar's close comparison of *Juliana* with the version in *Acta Sanctorum* enables him to show (p. 95) that around lines 559-63 there should be no quotation marks as there are in Krapp and Dobbie's edition. On p. 33, in a discussion of the description of various occupations of mankind in *Christ II* it is remarked that the locution *sum mæg heanne beam stælgne gestigan* has been unnecessarily questioned; as much has been written about this passage, one is disappointed not to find any interpretation by Schaar.

The chapter on texts, textual criticism, and interpretation gives a brief critical review of main editions, sets forth some sound principles of textual criticism—among them a warning about making emendations on the basis of metrical theories and the suggestion that a copyist's error may be inferred if the whole context is in any way conducive to such an error, and then proceeds to the interpretation of about fifty-five particular passages. Some of these have to do with an interpretation of syntax in contrast to that indicated by the punctuation in edited texts, and these are on the whole convincing. For example, at *Andreas* 139 Schaar would read *reðe ræsboran rihtes ne gimdon* with Wülker rather than start a new sentence with *rihtes* as Krapp punctuates; and at *Christ II*, 538, after *torne bitolden* he would omit the semicolon given in Krapp and Dobbie's edition. His assumption, however, that at *Juliana* 483-4, *sume ic larum geteah / to geflite fremede*, the word *fremede* is not parallel to *geteah* discards too readily the fact that such a structural arrangement of words is a fairly frequent device in Old English and other Germanic poetry. At *Guthlac A* 182-3, *we þæs guðlace / deorwyrðne dæl dryhtne cennað*, the MS reading *guðlace* is defended on the ground that it is an example of apo

koinou—both *guðlace* and *dryhtne* being taken as dependent on *cennað*, but if *cennað* is a koinon one would expect it to occur between *guðlace* and *dryhtne*, like *Beowulf* 3066; *þa he biorges weard / sohte searoniðas*; since *þrowera* is mentioned in the immediately preceding passage, it is tempting to take both *guðlace* and *dryhtne* as specific instances of *þrowera*, and it is not improbable that this is what the poet intended even though the construction is not a recognizable pattern of apo koinou.

Some of Schaar's interpretations concern the meanings of particular words. For example, the emendation of *snude* to *sunde* at *Andreas* 267 is defended, as is that of *hornfisc* to *hronfisc* at 370, *gifeðe* to *gifene* at 489, and *hwæt* to *hwær* at 1317. The much disputed *idge* at *Phoenix* 407 (*toþas idge*) is taken to mean 'greedy,' but the close association of the passage with the Biblical reference to setting the children's teeth on edge (Ezekiel 18, 2) makes more likely the suggestion that the word is a derivative of *ecg*.

By far the longest chapter of the book (pp. 97-322), on style and manner, is one containing sections on the use of compound and complex clause-series, parataxis and hypotaxis, asyndeton, variation, parallel passages, and vocabulary. Each of these sections is replete with specific examples, the purpose being to try to discover some characteristics in the poems which may indicate some individualities of the poets. So far as authorship is concerned, no startling results are arrived at; *Christ III*, *Phoenix*, *Guthlac A*, and *Andreas* are excluded from Cynewulf's works, and *Christ I*, *Dream of the Rood*, and *Guthlac B* are taken, conservatively, to be written much in the style and manner of Cynewulf. On the whole an attempt to get any very definite information about Old English poems and their writers from a gathering and analysis of what may be parataxis or hypotaxis or asyndeton, is not likely to prove very profitable. Schaar's careful examination of the use of variation does, however, seem to point to some pertinent differences in style; and he makes an acceptable point in suggesting that loose variation may have been influenced by Latin of the Church Fathers (pp. 233-34). The section on parallels offers few that have not been noted before, but his assembling of possible parallels concerning the whole Cynewulf group is here welcome and at times instructive; passages which seem inept may owe some of their phraseology to reminiscences of expressions from other poems where the expressions are quite apt, for example the odd *ne wloh of hrægle / lungre alysed* at *Andreas* 1472 compared with *ða was of ðæm hroran helme ond byrne / lungre alysed* at *Beowulf* 1629 (p. 272).

The book evidences much careful work and points out or corroborates acceptable interpretations of a number of disputed passages. That it would change any generally held views about the poems as a whole was hardly to be expected; that it twice offers

a good deal of resumé of the narrative of some of the poems—once in Chapter II and again for nearly thirty pages in Chapter IV—may cause some readers to turn in preference to the poems themselves, but this could hardly be called a serious flaw. Taken together, the three main sections of the book—on sources, text, and style, offer material contributing to a close understanding of the poems studied.

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The Age of the Sturlungs. Icelandic Civilization in the Thirteenth Century. By EINAR ÓL. SVEINSSON. Trans. JÓHANN S. HANNESSON. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953. Pp. xiv + 180. (Islandica, xxxvi.)

This is the first volume of *Islandica* published by the new Curator of the Icelandic Collection at Cornell, Jóhann S. Hannesson. It is a translation made by him, and, so far as I can see, excellent, correct and readable; no mean feat to undertake and execute successfully. The choice of the book is no less felicitous for this is the only cultural study of the *Sturlunga* Age and indispensable as a background to the Icelandic sagas written during that time. It was published by Professor Einar Ól. Sveinsson of the University of Iceland in 1940, an outgrowth of his studies on *Njála*. Its unique value was recognized at once, it is therefore a matter of rejoicing that it should now be made available to a wider public, especially scholars interested in the Sagas and the culture out of which they sprang. This is all the more important since there are no English translations of the *Sturlunga saga* as a whole and not many of any parts of it; as a matter of fact the only complete translation made into any foreign language was the one into Danish, made by Kr. Kålund, who also edited the huge and complicated work.

The present book starts with a Prologue sketching the political history of the great families of the age, all dwarfed by the Sturlungs; hence the name. There follows a chapter on Free Retainers and Royal Subjects of the Norwegian Kings; another chapter on the anomalously Independent People of Iceland (at that time the Icelanders were probably the only people without a king in Western Christendom; the Swiss got their independence after the Icelanders had lost theirs). There follows a chapter on French-Norwegian influence: *Kurteisi* and Romanticism. Then there are chapters on Class and Wealth, Vices and Virtues, old and new, and Death. There is a chapter on the humor of the time: Sweet Mirth and Bitter Jest, and another, Echoes, on the popular beliefs and superstitions of the time. These two chapters wind up the description of the secular culture of the time.

Then the author turns to *The World of Negation*, by which he means the church, its atmosphere and influence. This is the introduction to ecclesiastical culture and history to which the rest of the book is devoted: Twelfth-Century Christianity, the Church around 1200, Miracles, The Priest, "The Courts of the Lord," and, finally, *Staðamál*: The Contest for Church Estates. Here also belongs a note on Clerical Celibacy, printed as an appendix, while the Conclusion sums the whole matter of the book.

From the above survey it ought to be clear that the book should have an appeal not only to students of Old Norse and specifically Icelandic matters, but also to those interested in the ramifications and effects of Western Christendom. No medievalist should neglect the book.

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A Reading of George Herbert. By ROSEMOND TUVE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952. Pp. 215.

Professor Tuve's book is an excellent one. It offers a valuable contribution to our knowledge of George Herbert's poetry, and therefore to our knowledge of Renaissance poetry, and therefore to our knowledge of other poetry, past and present. Miss Tuve commands an impressive learning, for the most part kept carefully relevant; her book is informed by a distinguished energy of mind and by an imaginative sensitivity often convincing and always interesting. She invites and stimulates profitable disagreement, and if this is not the highest compliment one can pay a critic, it is nearly the highest.

The Herbert Miss Tuve presents is a figure of interest and significance to the modern world. An urgent sense of the present is basic in her history. Her insights into the past, as well as much of her critical method, derive from the present; and she is able to complete her perspective by bringing the past round again to bear significantly on the present. It seems to me an honest method, and a good history to consider. Though Miss Tuve conducts most of her controversy on the scholarship-versus-criticism question from the side of historical scholarship, she does not herself practice the illusion of a quasi scientific scholarship which is pure of assumptions and presents evidence as if from no starting-place in time or belief, while marching in orderly wise to the truth as if that familiar home had never been left at all. She is aware that it requires pertinent questions to elicit pertinent answers, and that the process of producing questions is not an uncomplicated one.

The first part of her book is a brilliant explication of "The Sacrifice," during the course of which she conducts a running quarrel with William Empson and some extreme positions of

"modern criticism." She has chosen her antagonist well, and a bystander may surmise that the frequent identification of Mr. Empson with modern criticism owes more to Miss Tuve's own militant (and honorably opposite) critical position, and of course to her rival interpretation of Herbert, than the facts of the contemporary critical situation will themselves justify. The second part of the book explicates some of the shorter poems. The most distinguished direct treatment is that given the Jordan poems. But mostly Miss Tuve is engaged in explaining the tradition back of some of Herbert's chief symbols and his *poetic use* of these symbols. She has interesting and valuable comments to make on various lines and whole poems, on symbols in poetry, on myth, on Herbert's kind of poetry, on the "delicacy and decorous justness of the tone," which is the key to the meaning of poems and to their "formal reality," on Herbert's "wit," on his kind of originality and uniqueness.

These are ambitious topics; they are treated worthily. Indeed, the serious concern devoted to George Herbert's poetry is part of her enlightened concern for the nature and the state of poetry. But part of her role is also that of controversialist—a justifiable role certainly, though not very interesting, and a certain embarrassment to sincerity attempting to conduct a large issue with ambitious self-awareness.

Perhaps partly because of her double role as controversialist and critic, she tries to resolve conflicts too easily. Though she is admirably aware of the dangers of modern instrumentalism, and of her chosen method, she tends to identify the author's intention, the rhetorical purpose, with the tradition which gives birth to poems; and these with a limited meaning of images as program for the critic's final end. (In statement and practice, I am happy to add, she seems to me to have got free of some of the more constricting limits of her previous book; and, incidentally, her prose is in much better control.) She disclaims completeness, aims at correction, gives us a reading, but still identifies an essential Herbert with the tradition of a kind of exclusive, pure poetry. Though she is committed to the "infinite suggestiveness" of metaphor, the suggestiveness of the particulars seems rather domesticated by an unseemly solicitude of universal considerations. The Herbert we get from this Sidneyan Platonism may perhaps be the essential Herbert, but I am left uncomfortable by this process of reduction to the essential; too much is left out, or neglected, or violated; and I am not at all sure that the "universal considerations" presented by the poetic mind can be poetically valid without a more generous admission of troubling "particulars" than Miss Tuve cares to include. The Herbert casually dismissed ("To be sure, six or seven of his poems have had all or more than their due") seems to me more than an intellectual stage on the way, to be then purified out of existence. Both Herberts need each other; neither alone is *the*

poet. Nor does Miss Tuve's demonstration of *the* tradition, enriching and convincing though it is, finally give use more of the poet than do some specialized statements (which anger her) of *the* meaning of poems. (She may have worked harder and more humbly, but that does not save.) The tradition of a poet admits a wide solution; the essential is like the essential of metaphor, hard to limit without distortion; and the critic's choice always defines him as well as the poet. It is valuable to see Herbert creating after the way of symbols, out of what is old and similar, but this view will not entirely take the place of seeing him create through the conflict of differences. The times have undoubtedly changed, but Herbert has not completely outgrown his relationship to the Donne of a couple of decades ago.

The counterpart of this emphasis on the essential is the almost complete emphasis on images as the sufficient key to the meaning of poems. It is not quite enough for the critic to deny this modestly (though that is worth something), while *practicing* no other means of understanding the "formal reality" of poems. And once we have arrived at the essential neither the critic nor a convinced reader can hardly, with grace, recommend further study of what must be minor descriptions of the true single light. Miss Tuve acknowledges other matters of style which compose the formal reality of poems, but she proceeds so confidently, and so far, without considering them that we must question either her modesty or her critical self-awareness. These qualities of style are passively yielded to the private and individual enjoyment of the reader who has followed her strenuous tour of the public metaphors. That reader, if soundly instructed by her, ought to have acquired a proper distrust of his private capacity to understand; but he had better look with suspicion at a concept of "formal reality" which invites and casually abandons him to private enjoyment. When the Platonizing loyalty to public understanding is such, we can expect that enjoyment, if it is dignified by any recognition at all, will be bootlegged, accorded a second-class reality. The critical gap which the great Sidney could not escape, Miss Tuve, in spite of the modern device of assigning the sugar of the pill to the individual, also cannot escape.

Finally, though she raises the full question of Herbert's originality, she swallows without chewing the problem of the unsuccessful poems, many of which use the same materials and symbols as the best poems. A reader is left doubting the range of qualitative analysis possible with this critical equipment. When good poems are not interesting to an ambitious critical approach, or are positively snubbed, they remain as the most unanswerable criticism of that criticism. And they remind us that symbols, and our knowledge of them, do not alone make poems; and that it is sometimes not impossible to proceed as if good or mediocre poems were the best poems. For not unrelated to the danger of critical pride, which

may make things in our image and call them good, is the danger of uncritical solicitude, which may identify the results of our energetic pursuit of knowledge with literary quality itself.

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ARNOLD STEIN

Goethe in der Periode der Wahlverwandtschaften (1802-1809). By HANS M. WOLFF. Bern: A. Francke, 1952. Pp. 272.

When August Sauer delivered the dedicatory address at the unveiling of the Goethe monument in Franzensbad in 1906, he called the attention of research scholars to the central figure in an idyllic episode during Goethe's sojourn at the spas of Bohemia in 1808: Silvie von Ziegesar. He spoke of the event as a parallel to the Ulrike von Levetzow episode. His remarks went largely unheeded. It has remained for the present author to point out that this young noblewoman, thirty-six years Goethe's junior, played in fluctuating degrees the dominant female rôle in the poet's life from 1802 to 1809 and to prove, or attempt to prove, that his major works during these years, from *Die Natürliche Tochter* to *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, reflect this relationship. In this way alone was it possible for the author to continue the line of study of Goethe as a "Bekenntnisdichter" and to analyze the evolutionary stratification of his larger works as he had undertaken to do in his earlier book: *Goethes Weg zur Humanität*.

The present volume is skilfully constructed to whet the reader's appetite. Of the twelve chapters, six are predominantly biographical. The others, fittingly interspersed, offer critical analyses of *Die Natürliche Tochter*, *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (version of 1807), *Pandora*, the sonnets of 1807, and the *Wahlverwandtschaften*, somewhat in the manner of the Positivist School, with emphasis on ethical problems and with but meagre reference to recent works on Goethe. The book concludes with a treatment of the ethical development of personality as Goethe lived and expressed it, from the "naturalism" of the Storm and Stress to the reasoned balance between inner freedom and outward submission to objective ethical norms—a progress in which the relationship to Silvie is represented to be the last great formative experience before Marianne and the *Divan*.

It is appropriate that the opening chapters should justify Silvie von Ziegesar as the golden thread that runs through the volume and should give us a presentation of the climactic summer of 1808 at Karlsbad and Franzensbad, which leaves the reader convinced of the depth and sincerity of the poet's affection for the "schlanke weisse Gestalt," whom he was to address playfully but with

meaningful gradation as "Tochter, Freundin, Liebchen" in the "Susquehanna" poem (1808). On the other hand, the emphasis on Silvie in the biographical chapters leaves the reader occasionally at a loss in the analytical chapters to determine where and how the relationship of the poet to her shapes the characters and events in a work, until he decides there is no influence, or is presented with such frail parallels that he shakes his head in wonderment. In the otherwise excellent chapter on *Pandora* (pp. 121-140), the "Bekennnisdichtung" of a "Werther grown old," in which Epimetheus is defined as the image of the yearning poet, we are left in the dark as to where Silvie and her counterpart enter in. It is not revealed until much later (p. 167). There, in treating of the psychic confusion to which the poet is reduced in the Advent season of 1807 by the "heavenly" love for the winsome but irresponsible Minna Herzlieb on the one hand, and the soulful and receptive Silvie on the other, the author reverts to the scene in *Pandora* where Epimetheus is forced to choose between his two daughters at the time of Pandora's departure. "Elpore-Minna," roguish enough but turning away from her father's glance, loses out to "Epimeleia-Silvie" who keeps her eyes fixed in his. Later again Epimeleia-Silvie reappears (p. 180) in the company of other characters that approximate a corresponding equation: Ottilie in the *Wahlverwandtschaften*, the beloved of the sonnets, Hilarie in "Der Mann von fünfzig Jahren," even Eugenie. The chapter on *Die Natürliche Tochter* seeks to explain the incongruities of this most puzzling of Goethe's plays and presents an ingenious reconstruction of a presumed older version of the first three acts. It is difficult to believe, however, that the gentle, clinging Silvie, of whom we learn in the accounts of contemporaries, should have lent any traits to the impetuous and commanding Eugenie, or even that Silvie should represent for the last two acts, written admittedly before the poet's Silvie epoch, a kind of *ex post facto* realization of his ideal of the heroine. That the dashing of Eugenie's hopes for fame and happiness and her subsequent misery and banishment should be equated to Silvie's presumed dejection when Goethe departed from Jena in August, 1802, and the plaint of the Duke over the loss of his daughter, whom he supposes dead, should represent Goethe's own plaint over the loss of companionship puts something of a strain on the reader's willingness to be convinced.

Such minor matters aside, one cannot help but be impressed by the author's ability to discern hidden connections, contradictions, and sutures, as though he were possessed of some uncanny divining-rod. His arguments are so closely knit and his reasoning so eloquent and persuasive that everything seems to fall into place like the pieces of an intricate jig-saw puzzle. Take e. g. the chapter on the seventeen sonnets of 1807, which have been traditionally ascribed—by some, to be sure, with an uneasy feeling—to the inspiration of

Minna Herzlieb, with a few motifs from Bettina's correspondence. Without denying genuine affection for Minna, Wolff claims (like Düntzer long ago) that this is not so in the two most fascinating chapters in the book (8th and 9th). Only the last sonnet ("Charade") is conceded as addressed to her. If we are led to assume that she is the heroine of them all, then this is Goethean mystification, a Puckish delight in concealing the true object of his passion from his wedded wife and the gossips.

The longest chapter, on the *Wahlverwandtschaften*, is at the same time the climax of the book, a kind of keystone of the carefully constructed arch that spans the poet's life for seven years. The main characters are discussed and their approximate prototypes in real life revealed. Eduard appears as a kind of unstable twin brother of Goethe; Ottilie is the poetic transmutation of Silvie—not Minna. The actual composition of the first version took place during the Karlsbad summer of 1808. The milieu is reminiscent of Draken-dorf, the Ziegesar estate near Jena. There are parallel minutiae that complete the picture. A somewhat strained reasoning makes Charlotte out to be the reverse of Christiane, the embodiment of those very qualities of character which Goethe's wife lacked. That the image of an old friend, Charlotte von Stein, hovered before the poet's eyes is more acceptable. If the captain remains somewhat pale and indistinct compared to these three, this is due to the fact that he represents a type rather than an actual person. The rest of the chapter is, in the main, a careful treatment of the ethical problems of the work. The author's novel contention is that it is not a conflict between morality (Charlotte) and immorality (Eduard), but between an abstract and inexorable moral attitude grounded in the indissolubility of marriage and a more liberal code that gives the rights of individuality, personality, temperament their due. When Charlotte acquiesces in the divorce, the conflict appears solved in favor of the latter alternative, a solution that is more humane and realistic, less cruel and idealistic than the analogous principles to which the poet subscribed in *Iphigenie* and *Tasso*. The radical awakening of heart and mind in Ottilie's part after the drowning of Charlotte's child and the tragic dénouement constitute a sequel that lacks genuine consistency. This leads to an attempt to reconstruct the older and shorter version of the novel, in which Eduard's overpowering passion and Ottilie's final surrender bring about the catastrophe through a sense of guilt. This hypothesis would have resulted in a triumph of the stern moral law, a condemnation of Eduard and a vindication of Charlotte. Wolff would have it that the poet changed this outcome for reasons that lay ultimately in his personal experiences, and in order to bring about a systematic exoneration of Eduard in the final version so that he appears not as the guilty one, but as a victim. The genuine martyrdom of Ottilie is slighted in this interpretation.

This is a disturbing and a revealing book, disturbing because of revolutionary arguments and speculations about the genesis and evolution of Goethe's works; revealing, because of the light it sheds on a neglected, almost overlooked, figure in Goethe's life. Silvie von Ziegesar takes her place at the side of Friederike, the two Charlottes, Marianne, and Ulrike. Her radiant star outshines that of Minna Herzlieb. No other person seems to have supplied the indispensable element of love (to which Goethe subscribed in the verses "Denn auf dieser Erdenflur/ Muss man lieben um zu dichten") in 1802-03 and 1807-09 as inspiringly as did Silvie von Ziegesar.

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In Honorem Lawrence Marsden Price. Contributions by His Colleagues and by His Former Students. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952. xxv + 454.

Instead of the usual Festschrift encomium, a whimsical *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, such as only Lawrence Price's modesty and detachment can write, introduces this collection of contributions by his colleagues and former students which does honor to both him and his Department. The included 13 treatises range from the 15th to the 20th century and, requiring at least three or four authoritative reviewers, can here only be summarized for the benefit of those working in their respective fields; but it may safely be said that throughout they maintain a high level of scholarship, are vividly presented, and add a considerable amount of knowledge to our field.

Philip Motley Palmer's "German Works on America, 1492-1800," listing 976 items pertaining to this subject and by 314 titles exceeding those given in Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* and scrutinized by the present author must claim the attention of scholars beyond those in our own branch of learning, especially since Palmer supplies the names of the libraries where the books may be obtained and a tabulation by decades, showing "the gradually increasing interest in the New World on the part of German readers."

C. Grant Loomis' account of "The German Theater in San Francisco, 1861-1864" presents for the first time a full account of the Meaubert management of that undertaking, including its actors and its repertoire. The latter seems rather remarkable when compared with institutions of similar scope in the home country, and his excerpts from the reviews of a certain Leo Eloesser should induce some enterprising Ph.D. candidate to search for more facts about this rather interesting critic who is exceptionally well read and takes his reporting very seriously.

Clair Hayden Bell in his "The Meisterschule at Memmingen and its Kurtze Entwerfung" successfully refutes the "widespread and widely accepted statement that Meistergesang broke from its former practice by introducing Opitzian verse reform into its Meisterlieder in Memmingen in 1660." The document, which nobody seems to have examined heretofore, is added in facsimile. Edmund K. Heller extracts from Hohenwang's translation of Flavius Vegetius Renatus' *Epitoma rei militaris*, published in Ulm 1475 as *Kurcze Red von der Ritterschafft*, an evaluated list of military and naval terms with their Latin, Middle English and Old French equivalents. Arthur G. Brodeur discusses "The Meaning of Snorri's Categories" and Siegfried B. Puknat describes "Religious Forms and Faith in the Volksbuch," while Eli Sobel finds a turn to the new humanistic age in Sebastian Brant's use of Ovidian and other classical allusions in his *Narrenschiff*.

The 18th century is represented in two essays: Charles E. Borden sees the original model for Lessing's *Der junge Gelehrte* in Johann Elias Schlegel's *Der geschäftige Müßiggänger*, a comedy with a thoroughly German setting, and concludes from this similarity that it "contradicts the current belief that Lessing was under the dominance of foreign influence from the outset" and that only in Leipzig he became aware of the gulf between German and foreign production. F. Andrew Brown proves through ample quotation of parallel passages the influence of Locke's pedagogical ideas upon Christian Wolff and the German Weeklies.

Problems of modern literature are treated in the remaining four investigations. Hans M. Wolff reconstructs an original version of Kleist's *Findling* through elimination of some unnecessary and improbable additions of a supposed later redaction. He sees in this simplified form the influence of characters of *Götz von Berlichingen* as well as a Storm and Stress animosity against institutions of the church and concludes that it must belong to Kleist's Schroffenstein period. Through a later attempt at psychological motivation certain contradictions were introduced by Kleist, which led to a situation similar to that in the *Marquise von O.* and hence to Kleist's abandoning of the plan in favor of the latter novelle.

Wolff's very ingenious ratiocination is persuasive but, as in all such attempts to penetrate the secrets of a poetic conception beyond the extant material, one can not help feeling that we can only attain a degree of probability. When, however, Wolff protests that the similarity of Nicolo and Colino is a heterogeneous element, he obviously overlooks the identity of the three syllables of their names. Moreover, a change to a novella from the supposed earlier version, which has the character of an anecdote, would inevitably carry with it the necessity of psychological motivation. However, the argument concerning the *Marquise* is not to be dismissed lightly.

In *Der leidende Dritte* Marianne Bonwit discusses in terse analyses the problem of resignation in middle-class novels and novellen, especially in Theodor Storm's work, and finds an increasing change from outer to inner motivation, i. e. from class or property reasons to those of personal character. She gives a rapid but informed survey from *La Nouvelle Héloïse* to Mann and Hesse, leaving aside (purposely?) Goethe's *Elective Affinities*.

"Die grenzenlose Einsamkeit in künstlerische Leistung zu verwandeln" becomes, according to Andrew O. Jász's brief but well buttressed argumentation the task of the poet in Rilke's *Duino Elegies*; while Joseph Mileck wrestles with the difficult task of unravelling the symbolism of Hermann Hesse's *Glasperlenspiel*. The best part of his essay is a conscientious rendering of the content of the story although his vacillation between verb tenses is somewhat confusing, the present being the recognized tense of the compte rendu. His final negative verdict is hardly justifiable in the case of an author who writes his crowning novel with his life blood and earns the praise of his literary rival.

The Bibliography of Professor Price's works is kept down to his essential books and articles and these speak for themselves.

ERNST FEISE

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Sappho, Tragedy in five acts. *The Jewess of Toledo*. *Esther*. Dramas by FR. GILLPARZER, trans. ARTHUR BURKHARD. Yarmouth Port, Mass.: Register Press, 1953. Pp. 99 + 152.

The year 1953 has added two more volumes to Professor Burkhard's ambitious project of rendering into English the remaining works of the 19th century Austrian poet, Franz Grillparzer. The translation of *Sappho*, dedicated to Henry Harmon Stevens, who himself translated a formidable group of the poet's major dramatic works, completes their tale. The other volume includes *The Jewess of Toledo*, which leapt full-grown from Grillparzer's literary remains to astonish even his closest friends, and the fragment *Esther*, which emerged in 1863 and five years later received a flattering performance in its truncated form on the memory-haunted boards of the Burgtheater.

Sappho, an immediate success there in 1818, appears to have been promptly translated into Italian, for as early as January 12, 1821, Byron wrote in his diary:

"Grillparzer—a devil of a name, to be sure, for posterity; but they must learn to pronounce it. With all due allowance for a translation, and above all an Italian translation, . . . the tragedy of *Sappho* is superb and sub-

lime! There is no denying it. The man has done a great thing in writing that play. And who is he? I know him not; but ages will. 't is a high intellect . . . Grillparzer is grand—antique—not so simple as the ancients, but very simple for a modern—too Madame de Staël'sh, now and then—but altogether a great and goodly writer."

The impact of these latter day translations into English is quite different. The fatal gulf between poetic heights and personal happiness, high mission and low desires, which obsessed the minds of the romantic poets, no longer yawns so wide for us. But while the themes of these plays do not excite us today, the plays themselves, read in German, still carry us along. Not so in English. With all due allowance made for the poetic diction of an earlier day, these English versions are still cliché-ridden, awkward or even ambiguous with unnecessary inversions, and 'besprent' with 'poetic' words from several assorted periods. Such lines as:

By service only servants praise their lord.—
The anxious cares that weighted down my breast
Have, like a miracle almost, departed;

and many more could easily be made plain by a bit of tinkering. And surely there is no need to rasp the ear with a line like this:

And wish, surrendering to all this bliss,

nor to involve the unwary mind in a coil of syntax like this:

Chill, lacking fruit and flower, it binds the brow
It promised recompense for sacrifice.

Translations which too often tempt the average reader to try an improvement and which then are found too easy to improve, leave something to be desired, however well the memorable key-lines, the hinges on which the development turns, are done.

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BRIEF MENTION

Novalis. German Poet—European Thinker—Christian Mystic. By FREDERICK HIEBEL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954. Pp. x + 126. The well deserved praise which greeted Dr. Hiebel's great Novalis monograph of 1951 (comp. *MLN.* LXVII (1952), 495 f.) can be extended to this publication which is not simply a translation of the German edition but an ably condensed adaptation for the English speaking reader. A critical evaluation of the life and works of a weighty contemporary of Goethe, of a

romanticist, whose great consequence can still be felt in the writings of Thomas Mann, Robert Musil, and the French Surrealists, is offered to the American student for the first time. It will most likely stimulate and fecundate our studies in Comparative Literature.

ARNO SCHIROKAUER

CORRESPONDENCE

"AUF KEINEN GRÜNEN ZWEIG KOMMEN" (*MLN*, Vol. LXIX, April 1954, p. 270 ff.): Professor Erwin Panofsky verweist auf Shakespeares *The Winter's Tale* v, 3 (Paulina):

I, an old turtle,
Will wing me to some wither'd bough, and there
My mate, that's never to be found again,
Lament till I am lost.

Die Kommentare führen an Lodges *Rosalynde*:

A turtle sate upon a leaveless tree,
Mourning her absent peare,
With sad and sorrie cheare. . . .

Wither'd bough, leaveless tree gesellen sich zu dem von mir erwähnten *dürren Ast* der französischen und deutschen Dichtung.

LEO SPITZER

INDEX

AUTHORS OF ARTICLES AND OF BOOKS REVIEWED

- Allen, D. C., Donne's "The Will" 559
- Andreas, W., C. A. von Weimar 305
- Antonetti, P. (tr.), I. Siciliano, *Les Origines des chansons de geste* 75
- Arms, G., *Fields Were Green: New View of Bryant, Whittier et al.* 528
- Arnavon, C., *Les Lettres américaines devant la Critique française: 1887-1917* 72
- Arndt, K. J., *Plagiarism: Sealsfield or Simms?* 577
- Arnold, M., *England and Italian Question*, ed. M. M. Bevington 528
- Artinian, A., Daudet's "Petit Homme bleu" 111
- Atwood, E. B., *Verb Forms in Eastern U. S.* 282
- Aue, H. von, *Der arme Heinrich* 142
- Baker, C., *Hemingway* 530
- Baltzell, J. H. (ed.), *Octosyllabic Vie de St. Denis* 381
- Baum, P. F., *Canterbury Tales* A24 551
- Bentley, C. A., *Rilke and Maurois* 340
- Bentley, E. (ed.), *Naked Masks: Five Plays by Pirandello* 455
- Berry, H., and Timings, E. K., *Lovelace at Court* 396
- Berry, M., *Jules Romains* 300
- Besterman, T. (ed.), *Voltaire's Correspondence* 145
- Bevington, M. M. (ed.), *M. Arnold's "England and Italian Question"* 528
- Bishop, M., *Figuière and La Rochefoucauld* 41
- Blomqvist, A. (ed.), *Gace de la Buigne, Le Roman des Deduis* 50
- Bloomfield, M. W., *Seven Deadly Sins* 289
- Boas, F. S., *Intro. to 18th C. Drama* 524
- Bond, R. P., *Queen Anne's American Kings* 201
- Bowers, R. H., *M. E. Diatribe against Backbiting* 160
- Bradner, L., and Lynch, C. A. (eds.), *Latin Epigrams of T. More* 421
- Braun, F. X., *Merchant of Genoa in Goethe's "Prokurator"* 274
- Brown, B. D. et al., *Ninth Supplement to Manual of Writings in M. E.* 367
- Brown, U. (ed.), *Porgils saga ok Halliða* 71
- Brunius, T., *Hume on Criticism* 130
- Brunot, F., *Histoire de la langue française*, XIII 277
- Bühler, C. F., *Diogenes and Governor* 481
- Bullitt, J. M., *Swift and Anatomy of Satire* 518
- Burkhard, A. (tr.), *F. Gillparzer, Sappho. Jewess of Toledo. Esther* 618
- Bush, N. R., *Marquis d'Argens and His Correspondence* 301
- Caldwell, R. A., *Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and Stour* 237
- Campbell, H. M., and Foster, R. E., *Wm. Faulkner* 446
- Carter, B. G., *Goncourts' Henriette Maréchal in Mexico* 338
- Carter, John (ed.), *Poems of A. E. Housman* 444
- Chadwick, C., *Religion of du Bartas* 407
- Christopherson, P., *Ballad of Sir Aldingar* 368
- Cline, C. L., *Byron, Shelley and Pisan Circle* 200
- Coles, P., *Senarega as a Source of Giustiniani's Annali* 104.
- Colvert, J. B., *Music in Chaucer's House of Fame* 239
- Congleton, J. E., *Pastoral in England, 1684-1798* 197
- Conner, W., *Balzac's Frenhofer* 335
- Crane, R. S. (ed.), *Critics and Criticism* 533
- Crowley, F. J., *Walther Ed. of Voltaire (1748)* 331
- Culliford, S. G., *Hugh Holland in Turkey* 489

- Dahl, C., Browning's "Ben Karshook's Wisdom" 569
- Daniels, M., French Drama of the Unspoken 303
- Desonay, F., Ronsard Poète de l'Amour. I. Cassandre 51
- Dickason, D. H., Daring Young Men: American Pre-Raphaelites 294
- Diverres, A. H. (ed.), Froissart: Voyage en Béarn 381
- Dodds, J. W., Age of Paradox: England 1841-1851 209
- Donaldson, E. T., *Miller's Tale*, A 3483-6 310
- Donne, J., *Sermons*, eds. E. M. Simpson and G. R. Potter 116
- Donner, H. W., Två Kapitel Engelsk Grammatik 65
- Downs, N., Two Letters of W. Scott 247
- DuBois, A. E., "Gifstol" 546
- Dunklin, G. T. (ed.), Wordsworth 134
- Dunn, P. N., Solórzano and Decline of Spanish Novel 379
- Eaves, T. C. D., Odell, A. T., and Oliphant, M. C. S. (eds.), Letters of W. G. Simms 304
- Elliott, G. R., Flaming Minister: Othello 433
- Emerson, E. H., Milton's War in Heaven 399
- Engard, C. J. (ed.), Goethe's Botanical Writings 57
- Engstrom, A. G., Chateaubriand and Poe 506
- Evans, J., Dress in Medieval France 149
- Fess, G. M., Background of Balzac's *Les Chouans* 601
- Feuillerat, A., Composition of Shakespeare's Plays 427
- Fichter, W. L., Publicaciones periodísticas de don Ramón del Valle-Inclán 225
- Flasdieck, H., Zinn und Zink 606
- Fleischhauer, W., MHD. *Leit* = Beleidigung? 586
- Foster, R. E., and Campbell, H. M., Wm. Faulkner 446
- Fowler, D. C., "Win" in *Troilus and Criseyde* 313
- Fowler, D. C., and Knott, T. A. (eds.), *Piers the Plowman* 191
- Françon, M., Géographie de *Pantagruel* 260; Rousseau à Ermenonville 419
- Frey, J. R., Bibliographie zur Theorie und Technik des deutschen Romans (1939-1953) 77
- Friend, J. H., Finn Episode Climax 385
- Fries, C. C., Structure of English 66
- Frohock, W. M., Malraux and Tragic Imagination 143
- Fucilla, J. G., Unedited Sonnet by Il Lasca 420
- Furniss, W. T., Jonson, Camden and Black Prince's Plumes 487
- Gace de la Buigne, *Roman des Deudis*, A. Blomqvist (ed.) 50
- Gagnebin, B. (ed.), Voltaire: Lettres à G. Cramer 230
- Galinsky, H., Sprache des Amerikaners 280
- Ganz, P. F., "Gentleman" in German 269
- Gauthier, E., Le génie satirique de L. Veuillot 279
- Gerould, G. H., Chaucerian Essays 374
- Gilbert, A., Eavesdroppers in Jonson's *Sejanus* 164; Plato as Shelley's Audience 253
- Gillet, J. E. (ed.), *Propalladia* and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro. Vol. III. 46
- Gillparzer, F., *Sappho. Jewess of Toledo. Esther*, tr. A. Burkhard 618
- Glaser, E., Anti-Semitic Word Plays in "Guzmán de Alfarache" 343
- Glicksberg, C. I., American Criticism 1900-1950 211.
- Gohdes, C., Section 5 of "Song of Myself" 583
- Golden, H. H., and Simches, S. O., Modern French Literature and Language: Bibliography of Homag Studies 302
- Gorges, Sir A., Poems, ed. H. E. Sandison 304
- Gray, R. D., Goethe the Alchemist 55
- Greenberg, B. L., L. Sterne and Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* 560
- Greene, E. J. H., Eliot et la France 68
- Greene, R. L., "Port of Peace" 307

- Griffith, B. W., Jr., Unpublished Shelley Reading List 254
- Griggs, E. L., Notes Concerning Poems of Coleridge 27
- Gwynn, F. L. Sweeney among Epigraphs 572
- Hagstrum, J. H., Johnson's Criticism 128
- Hall, M., *Ritmo Cassinese*, Stanza 2 600
- Hamm, V. M., Chaucer: "Heigh Ymaginacioun" 394
- Hamp, E. P., Gothic IUP "ἄνω" 39
- Hannesson, J. S. (tr.), E. Sveinsson, Age of Sturlungs 609
- Hartlich, C., and Sachs, W., Der Ursprung des Mythosbegriffs in der modernen Bibelwissenschaft 380
- Hatzfeld, H. A., Bibliography of New Stylistics 147
- Havens, G. R., H. C. Lancaster 541
- Hayden, D. E., After Conflict, Quiet 134
- Hermannsson, H., Tyrkir, Leif Erikson's Foster-Father 388
- Hiebel, F., Novalis 619
- Hoffman, F. J. and Vickery, O. W. (eds.), Faulkner: Two Decades of Criticism 446
- Hoffmann, C. G., Art of Reflection in James's *Sacred Fount* 507
- Hohlfeld, A. R., Fifty Years with Goethe, 1901-1951 140
- Holbrook, R. T. (ed.), Pierre Pathelin 301
- Horsman, E. A. (ed.), Diary of A. Domett 442
- Housman, A. E., Poems, ed. J. Carter 444
- Howard, L., Victorian Knight Errant, J. R. Lowell 214
- Howe, I., Wm. Faulkner 446
- Hubler, E., Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets 514
- Huntley, F. L., Milton, Mendoza, and Chinese Land-Ship 404
- Hutson, A. E., Troilus' Confession 468
- Irving, E. B., Jr. (ed.), O. E. "Exodus" 463
- Jackson, G. B., Chateaubriand Autograph 334
- Jóhannesson, A., Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 357
- Johnson, E. D. H., Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry 206
- Jones, G. F., Wm. Dunbar's "Steidid" 479
- Jones, R. F., Triumph of English Language 361
- Kaderly, N. L., Southey's Borrowings from Celia Fiennes 249
- Kallich, M., Association of Ideas in Johnson's Criticism 170
- Kindermann, H., Meister der Komödie von Aristophanes bis Shaw 60
- King, E. L., *El Licenciado vidriera* 99
- Kirch, M. S., *History of Jack the Giant Killer* 44
- Klenke, Sister M. A., Nicholas Bozon 256
- Kliger, S., Goths in England 120
- Knott, T. A., and Fowler, D. C. (eds.), *Piers the Plowman* 191
- Kocher, P. H., Science and Religion in Elizabethan England 423
- Kuhn, S. M., and Kurath, H. (eds.), M. E. Dictionary, Part E. 1 283
- Kurath, H., and Kuhn, S. M. (eds.), M. E. Dictionary, Part E. 1 283
- Lancaster, H. C., D'Argens's *Lettres Juives* and *Lettres Cabalistiques* 231; Diderot's *Père de Famille* 416
- Lapp, J. C., Anouilh's *Medée*: Debt to Seneca 183
- LeComte, E. S., "Lycidas," Petrarch, and Plague 402
- Legouis, P., Notes on "Rochester's" Poems 502
- Levin, H., Overreacher: Study of Marlowe 123
- Litz, F. E., Experiments in Poetry: Father Tabb 23
- Loomis, R. S., A Play on Martyrdom of Hugh of Lincoln? 31
- Lucas, H. H. (ed.), Rutebeuf: Poèmes concernant l'Université de Paris 151
- Lüdeke, H., Geschichte der amerikanischen Literatur 213
- Lukács, G., Deutsche Realisten des 19. Jahrhunderts 53
- Lupi, S. (ed.), Cynewulf, *Sant'Elena* 286
- Lynch, C. A., and Bradner, L. (eds.), Latin Epigrams of T. More 421

- McClain, W. H.**, Russia through the Eyes of Zweig and Rolland 11
McLeod, A. L., N. Lee's Birth Date 167
Mansfield, L. S., and Vincent, H. P. (eds.), Melville, *Moby Dick* 63
Marckwardt, A. H. (ed.), Laurence Nowell's "Vocabularium Saxonium" 288
Marken, J. W., Canon and Chronology of Wm. Godwin's Early Works 176
Mautner, F. H., Zu Lichtenberg und Archenholtz 189
Mélèse, P., Théâtre de Racine 220
Mendels, J., Feld-Fjell 594
Molloy, J. J., Interpretation of Wisdom, *Who is Christ* 150
Morphos, P. P. (ed.), Dialogues of Guy de Brués 295
Mossé, F., Handbook of Middle English 135
Mueller, B. (tr.), Goethe's Botanical Writings 57
Myhre, R., Vokalismer i Iddemålet 229

Niess, R. J., Zola Letter 114
Nitchie, E., Mary Shelley 526
Nitze, W. A., Turolodus, Author of Roland? 88; Conjointure in *Erec*, VS. 14 180
Noyes, R. G., Thespian Mirror: Shakespeare in 18th C. Novel 524

O'Brien, J., Portrait of André Gide 298
Odell, A. T., Oliphant, M. C. S., and Eaves, T. C. D. (eds.), Letters of W. G. Simms 304
O'Donnell, N. F., Jacobean *Phoenixae?* 163
Oliphant, M. C. S., Odell, A. T., and Eaves, T. C. D. (eds.), Letters of W. G. Simms 304
Osgood, C. G., Johnson and Macrobius 246
Owen, J., Allusion to *Reeve's Tale* 43

Parr, J., Tamburlaine's Malady 512; Chaucer's *Charles Rebellyng* 393
Pascal, R., German Sturm und Drang 458
Paul, H., and Wolff, L. (eds.), H. von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich* 142
Pfeffer, J. A., Proverbs in Goethe 596

Phialas, P. G., Unpublished Letter about *Game at Chess* 398
Pirandello, L., Five Plays, ed. E. Bentley 455
Pitou, S., Art of Gentle Lexicography: Perrot d'Ablancourt and Pierre Richelet 109
Podgurski, J., Fate of *La Chose Publique* 510
Politzer, R. L., Latin -ll- to -dd- in Romance 325
Potter, G. R., and Simpson, E. M. (eds.), Sermons of Donne 116
Preston, R., Chaucer 371
Price, L. M., In Honorem 616

Quinlan, M., William Cowper 125
Quynn, W. R., Unpublished Letter of Voltaire 265

Rantavaara, I., V. Woolf and Bloomsbury 445
Ray, G. N., Buried Life, Study of Thackeray 205
Reilly, C. A., Second Nun's Tale: Tiburce's Visit to Pope Urban 37
Reinhold, H., Humoristische Tendenzen in der englischen Dichtung des Mittelalters 366
Reiss, S., Rise of Words and Their Meanings 75
Ringler, R., Spenser and T. Watson 484
Roach, W. J., Continuations of O. F. "Perceval" of Chrétien de Troyes 217
Robbins, R. H., Late 15th C. Lyric 153; Unkind Mistress (Lambeth Ms. 432) 552
Robertson, D. W., Jr., Why Devil Wears Green 470
Robertson, T. L., Jr., Kingsley-Newman Controversy and *Apologia* 564
Robins, H. F., Milton's Golden Chain 76
Rubin, S., Phonology of M. E. Dialect of Sussex 138
Ruggiers, P. G., Words into Images in *Hous of Fame* 34
Rutebeuf, Poèmes concernant l'Université de Paris 151

Sachs, W., and Hartlich, C., Der Ursprung des Mythosbegriffs in der modernen Bibelwissenschaft 380
Salinger, H. (tr.), 20th-C. German Verse 62

- Sandison, H. E. (ed.), *Poems of Sir A. Gorges* 304
- Sauerwein, H. A., Jr., *Agrippa d'Aubigné's Les Tragiques* 451
- Sawin, Lewis, *Earliest Use of "Autumnal"* 558
- Schaar, C., *Critical Studies in Cynewulf Group* 606
- Schirmer, W. F., *J. Lydgate* 370
- Schmidt, F. A., *Beruf und Arbeit in deutscher Erzählung* 59
- Scholes, P. A., *Sir John Hawkins* 521
- Schultz, H., "A Book Was Writ of Late . . ." 495
- Schulz-Behrend, G., *Daten einiger Dichterkönungen* 273
- Selig, K. L., *Fray Luis de León's La Perfecta Casada* 102
- Severs, J. B., *Did Chaucer Rearrange Clerk's Envoy?* 472
- Sganzzini, S., *Vocabolario dei dialetti della Svizzera italiana* 152
- Shannon, E. F., Jr., *Tennyson and Reviewers* 203
- Sharp, R. L., *Donne's "Good-Morrow" and Cordiform Maps* 493
- Shaw, E. P., *Malesherbes, Abbé Prévost and First Translation of Sir Charles Grandison* 105; *Case of Abbé de Moncrief* 303
- Shine, H., *Carlyle's Early Reading* 439
- Siciliano, I., *Les Origines des chansons de geste* 75
- Side, K., *C. Smart's Heresy* 316
- Simches, S. O., and Golden, H. H., *Modern French Literature and Language: Bibliography of Homage Studies* 302
- Simpson, E. M., and Potter, G. R. (eds.), *Sermons of Donne* 116
- Sirluck, E., *Eikon Basilike* 497
- Sisam, K., *Studies in History of O. E. Literature* 363
- Smith, D. F., *Critics of London Theatres from Buckingham to Sheridan* 375
- Smith, J. H., *Dryden and Buckingham* 242
- Spalding, K. J., *Philosophy of Shakespeare* 433
- Spitzer, L., *Lope de Vega's "Al Triunfo de Judit" 1; Auf keinen grünen Zweig kommen* 270; "Istos ymnos ludendo composuit" 383; *Stubbhorn* 550; "Auf keinen grünen Zweig kommen" 620
- Stafford, J., *Literary Criticism of "Young America": Politics and Literature 1837-50* 74
- Stagg, G., *Cervantes' "De Batro a Tile"* 96
- Stagg, G., "Epistola a Mateo Vázquez" 382
- Stein, A., *Answerable Style: Essays on Paradise Lost* 516
- Stevenson, L., *Ordeal of G. Meredith* 292
- Strich, Fritz, *Festgabe für* 460
- Sturtevant, A. M., *Doublet Synonyms in Old Norse* 321
- Suddaby, E., *Notes on O. E. Texts* 465
- Sveinsson, E., *Age of Sturlungs, tr. J. S. Hannesson* 609
- Timings, E. K., and Berry, H., *Love-lace at Court* 396
- Topazio, V. W., *D'Holbach's Conception of Nature* 412
- Tudisco, A., *Arlequin Sauvage and El Salvaje Americano* 599
- Tuve, R., *Reading of G. Herbert* 610
- Vartanian, A., *Diderot and Descartes* 376
- Vickery, O. W., and Hoffman, F. J. (eds.), *Faulkner: Two Decades of Criticism* 446
- Viëtor, K., *Geist und Form* 227
- Vincent, H. P., and Mansfield, L. S. (eds.), *Melville, Moby Dick* 63
- Walker, A., *Textual Problems of First Folio* 436
- Walker, H., *Source of Balzac Work* 182
- Walker, J. A. (tr.), *F. Mossé, Handbook of Middle English* 135
- Walser, R., *Fatal Effects of Seduction (1789)* 574
- Wardle, R. M., *Mary Wollstonecraft* 229
- Wasserman, E. R., *The Finer Tone: Keats' Major Poems* 132; *Shelley's Adonais, 177-179* 563
- Watkins, F. C., *Structure of "Rose for Emily"* 508
- Watts, G. B., *Marmontel's Vogue in America* 267
- Webster, K. G. T. (tr.), *Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, Lanzelet* 537
- Weigand, H. J., *Trevezent as Parzival's Rival?* 348
- Whitaker, V. K., *Shakespeare's Use of Learning* 430
- Whiting, B. J., *Miller's Head Revisited* 309

- Wicker, C. V., Byron as Parodist 320
 Wicks, C. B., Parisian Stage. Part II (1816-30) 70
 Widén, B., Studies on Dorset Dialect 138
 Wiley, M. L., Subtle Knot 192
 Wilkins, E. H., Petrarch's Last Journey to Provence 92
 Williams, P., A 1593 Chaucer Allusion 45
 Williams, W. D., Nietzsche and the French 222
 Willoughby, L. A., German Studies Presented to 456
 Wilson, K. G., Five Pieces of 15th-C. Verse 18
 Wolfe, D. M. (ed.), Prose Works of Milton, Vol. I 116
 Wolff, H. M., Goethe in der Periode der Wahlverwundtschaften 613
 Wolff, L., and Paul H. (eds.), H. von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich* 142
 Woodbridge, B. M., Jr., Sir T. Browne, Lamb, and Machado de Assis 188
 Woodress, J. L., Howells and Italy 215
 Woodward, R. H., "Swanrad" in *Beowulf* 544
 Wright, W. E., Art and Substance in G. Meredith 292
 Yamamoto, T., Language of Dickens 439
 Yates, N., Traveller's Comments on *Typee* 581
 Zulli, F., Jr., Anatole France and Dante 420

REVIEWERS

- Alexander, H.: S. Rubin, Phonology of M. E. Dialect of Sussex 138; B. Widén, Studies on Dorset Dialect 138
 Allen, D. C.: G. R. Potter and E. M. Simpson (eds.), Sermons of Donne 116; D. M. Wolfe (ed.), Prose Works of Milton, Vol. I 116; H. E. Sandison (ed.), Poems of Sir A. Gorges 304
 Anderson, C. R.: I. Howe, Wm. Faulkner 446; H. M. Campbell and R. E. Foster, Wm. Faulkner 446; F. J. Hoffman and O. W. Vickery (eds.), Faulkner, Two Decades of Criticism 446
 Baker, C.: E. R. Wasserman, *Finer Tone: Keats' Major Poems* 132; D. E. Hayden, *After Conflict, Quiet* 134; G. T. Dunklin (ed.), Wordsworth 134
 Beach, J. W.: E. D. H. Johnson, *Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry* 206; L. Stevenson, *Ordeal of G. Meredith* 292; W. E. Wright, *Art and Substance in Meredith* 292
 Bloom, E. A.: J. E. Congleton, *Pastoral in England, 1684-1798* 197
 Boas, G.: E. J. H. Greene, *Eliot et la France* 68
 Booth, B. A.: E. F. Shannon, Jr., *Tennyson and Reviewers* 203
 Bronson, B. H.: P. A. Scholes, *Sir John Hawkins* 521
 Buffum, I.: H. A. Sauerwein, Jr., *Agrippa d'Aubigne's Les Tragiques* 451
 Bullough, G.: E. Hubler, *Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets* 514
 Camden, C.: J. Parr, *Tamburlaine's Malady* 512
 Cameron, K. N.: C. L. Cline, *Byron, Shelley and Pisan Circle* 200; E. Nitchie, *Mary Shelley* 526
 Campo, M. R.: E. Bentley (ed.), *Five Plays by Pirandello* 455
 Cargill, O.: C. Arnavon, *Les Lettres américaines devant la Critique française: 1887-1917* 72
 Charvat, W.: J. Stafford, *Literary Criticism of "Young America": Politics and Literature 1837-50* 74
 Clark, H. H.: L. Howard, *Victorian Knight Errant*, J. R. Lowell 214
 Cope, J. I.: M. L. Wiley, *Subtle Knot* 192; P. H. Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* 423
 Corominas, J.: J. E. Gillet (ed.), *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro* 46
 Einarsson, S.: U. Brown (ed.), *Porgils saga ok Hafiða* 71; R. Myhre, *Vokalismen i Iddemålet* 229; J. Hannesson (tr.), *E. Sveinsson, Age of Sturlungs* 609
 Eliason, N. E.: H. W. Donner, *Två Kapitel Engelsk Grammatik* 65;

- C. C. Fries, Structure of English 66; S. Reiss, Rise of Words and their Meanings 75; F. Mossé, Handbook of Middle English 135; T. A. Knott and D. C. Fowler (eds.), *Piers the Plowman* 191; E. B. Atwood, Verb Forms in Eastern U. S. 282; H. Kurath and S. M. Kuhn (eds.), M. E. Dictionary, Part E. 1 283
- Elliott, R. C.: J. M. Bullitt, Swift and Anatomy of Satire 518
- Falk, R. P.: J. L. Woodress, Howells and Italy 215
- Feise, E.: A. R. Hohlfeld, Fifty Years with Goethe, 1901-1951 140; K. Viëtor, Geist und Form 227; In Honorem L. M. Price 616
- Foakes, R. A.: H. Levin, Overreacher: Study of Marlowe 123
- Ford, G. H.: J. W. Dodds, Age of Paradox: England 1841-1851 209
- Fowler, D. C.: M. W. Bloomfield, Seven Deadly Sins 289
- Frank, G.: I. Siciliano, Les Origines des chansons de geste 75; J. Evans, Dress in Medieval France 149; H. H. Lucas (ed.), Rutebeuf: Poèmes concernant l'Université de Paris 151
- Friedman, L. J.: A. H. Diverres (ed.), Froissart, Voyage en Béarn 381
- Gilman, W. H.: L. S. Mansfield and H. P. Vincent (eds.), Melville, *Moby Dick* 63
- Gohdes, C.: H. Lüdeke, Geschichte der amerikanischen Literatur 213; D. H. Dickason, Daring Young Men, American Pre-Raphaelites 294
- Haber, T. B.: J. Carter (ed.), Poems of Housman 444
- Ham, E. B.: W. J. Roach, Continuations of O. F. "Perceval" of Chrétien de Troyes 217
- Harlan, J. L.: G. N. Ray, Buried Life, Study of Thackeray 205
- Hartley, L.: M. Quinlan, Wm. Cowper 125
- Heilman, R. B.: R. S. Crane (ed.), Critics and Criticism 533
- Jones, G. F.: K. G. T. Webster (tr.), Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, *Lanzelet* 537
- Kallich, M.: T. Brunius, Hume on Criticism 130
- Kirby, T. A.: J. J. Molloy, Interpretation of *Wisdom, Who is Christ* 150; B. D. Brown et al., Ninth Supplement to Manual of Writings in M. E. 367; W. F. Schirmer, Lydgate 370
- Lancaster, H. C.: T. Besterman, Voltaire's Correspondence 145; H. A. Hatzfeld, Bibliography of New Stylistics 147; F. Desonay, Ronsard 51; C. B. Wicks, Parisian Stage. Part II (1816-30) 70; P. Mélése, Théâtre de Racine 220; B. Gagnebin (ed.), Voltaire, Lettres à G. Cramer 230; F. Brunot, Histoire de la langue française, XIII 277; E. Gauthier, Le génie satirique de L. Veuillot 279; M. Berry, Jules Romains 300; R. T. Holbrook (ed.), Pierre Pathelin 301; N. R. Bush, Marquis d'Argens and His Correspondence 301; H. H. Golden and S. O. Simches, Modern French Literature and Language: Bibliography of Homage Studies 302; M. Daniels, French Drama of the Unspoken 303; E. P. Shaw, Case of Abbé de Moncrief 303
- Lane, G. S.: A. Jóhannesson, Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 357
- Leopold, W. F.: H. Galinsky, Sprache des Amerikaners 280
- Levy, R.: A. Blomqvist (ed.), Gace de la Buigne, *Le Roman des Deduis* 50; J. H. Baltzell (ed.), Octosyllabic Vie de St. Denis 381
- Llewellyn, R. H.: H. Reinhold, Humanistische Tendenzen in der englischen Dichtung des Mittelalters 366
- Loose, G.: G. Lukács, Deutsche Realisten des 19. Jahrhunderts 53
- Lumiansky, R. M.: S. Lupi (ed.), Cynewulf, *Sant'Elena* 286
- McClain, W. H.: W. D. Williams, Nietzsche and the French 222; R. Pascal, German Sturm und Drang 458
- McLaren, J. C.: W. M. Frohock, Malraux and Tragic Imagination 143
- March, H.: J. O'Brien, Portrait of André Gide 298

- May, G.: A. Vartanian, Diderot and Descartes 376
- Meritt, H.: C. Schaar, Critical Studies in Cynewulf Group 606
- Meyer, H.: R. D. Gray, Goethe the Alchemist 55; B. Mueller (tr.), Goethe's Botanical Writings 57; C. Hartlich and W. Sachs, Der Ursprung des Mythosbegriffs in der modernen Bibelwissenschaft 380
- Miller, H.: H. Shine, Carlyle's Early Reading 439; T. Yamamoto, Language of Dickens 439; E. A. Horsman (ed.), Diary of A. Domett 442; I. Rantavaara, V. Woolf and Bloomsbury 445; M. M. Bevington (ed.), M. Arnold's "England and Italian Question" 528
- Moenkemeyer, H.: H. Kindermann, Meister der Komödie von Aristophanes bis Shaw 60
- Muir, K.: G. R. Elliott, Flaming Minister, Study of Othello 433; Lectures on Four of Shakespeare's History Plays 433; K. J. Spalding, Philosophy of Shakespeare 433
- Mustard, H.: H. Salinger (tr.), 20th-C. German Verse 62
- Neuse, E.: F. Gillparzer, *Sappho. Jewess of Toledo. Esther*, tr. A. Burkhead 618
- Owen, W. J. B.: S. Kliger, The Goths in England 120
- Patch, H. R.: R. Preston, Chaucer 371; G. H. Gerould, Chaucerian Essays 374
- Pearce, R. H.: R. P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings 201
- Pfund, H. W.: German Studies Presented to L. A. Willoughby 456; H. M. Wolff, Goethe in der Periode der Wahlverwandschaften 613
- Ridgely, J. V.: M. C. S. Oliphant, A. T. Odell, and T. C. D. Eaves (eds.), Letters of W. G. Simms 304
- Rogers, E. F.: L. Bradner and C. A. Lynch (eds.), Latin Epigrams of T. More 421
- Schirokauer, A.: F. A. Schmitt, Beruf und Arbeit in deutscher Erzählung 59; H. Paul and L. Wolff (eds.), H. von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich* 142; W. Andreas, C. A. von Weimar 305; F. Hiebel, Novalis 619
- Scouten, A. H.: R. G. Noyes, Theatrical Mirror, Shakespeare in 18th-C. Novel 524; F. S. Boas, Intro. to 18th-C. Drama 524
- Shaab, M. A.: A. Feuillerat, Composition of Shakespeare's Plays 427; V. K. Whitaker, Shakespeare's Use of Learning 430; A. Walker, Textual Problems of First Folio 436
- Shumaker, W.: A. Stein, Answerable Style: Essays on Paradise Lost 516
- Silver, I.: P. P. Morphos (ed.), Dialogues of Guy de Brués 295
- Sledd, J.: R. F. Jones, Triumph of English Language 361
- Spitzer, L.: Weltliteratur, Festgabe für F. Strich 460
- Stein, A.: R. Tuve, Reading of G. Herbert 610
- Stewart, J. L.: C. Baker, Hemingway 530
- Stone, G. W., Jr.: D. F. Smith, Critics of London Theatres from Buckingham to Sheridan 375
- Thompson, S.: P. Christopherson, Ballad of Sir Aldingar 368; G. Arms, Fields Were Green, New View of Bryant Whittier *et al* 528
- Waggoner, H. H.: C. I. Glicksberg, American Literary Criticism 1900-1950 211
- Wardropper, B. W.: W. L. Fichter, Publicaciones periodísticas de don Ramón del Valle-Inclán 225; P. N. Dunn, Solórzano and Decline of Spanish Novel 379
- Whitney, L.: R. M. Wardle, Mary Wollstonecraft 229
- Williamson, E.: S. Szanzini (ed.), Vocabolario dei dialetti della Svizzera italiana 152
- Wimsatt, W. K., Jr.: J. H. Hagstrum, Johnson's Literary Criticism 128
- Woolf, H. B.: A. H. Marckwardt (ed.), Lawrence Nowell's "Vocabularium Saxonium" 288; K. Sisam, Studies in History of O. E. Literature 363; E. B. Irving, Jr. (ed.), O. E. "Exodus" 463; H. Flasdieck, Zinn und Zink 606

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